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Mysore - Maratha Relations under Shahji, Shivaji, Sambhaji And Rajaram as Revealed in Kannada Sources.

B.Muddachari.

UNIVERSITY OF MYSORE

Maharaja's College, Mysore.

DECLARATION

I was awarded the "Government of India Research Scholarship in Humanities" during the period between April 1957 and April 1959 for conducting research and writing a thesis on "The Mysore - Maratha Relations under Shahji, Shivaji, Sambhaji and Rajaram as revealed in Kannada sources". This thesis is completed under the above mentioned scheme. This is a result of my own study and research under the guidance of Dr.S.Srikantasastri, M.A., D.Litt., and is not submitted to any other University for any other degree.

Mysore,

July 1959.

B. Muddachari

(B.Muddachari)
Lecturer in History,
Maharaja's College,
MYSORE.

PREFACE.

Consequent upon the award of the Government of India Research Scholarship in Humanities for a period of two years from April 1957 to April 1959, I was able to carry out research on the relationship that existed between Mysore and the Marathas in the 17th century. I am highly thankful to the Government of India for its generous help. My grateful thanks are also due to the authorities of the University of Mysore for having granted me leave for two years.

In preparation of this thesis, I have taken help from several scholars. But the help I have received from prof.S.Srikantasastri - my teacher for the last ten years - can never be expressed in mere words. I do not know how to thank him adequately for the inspiration he kindled in me in undertaking this work; the keen and sympathetic interest he has evinced in guiding me throughout the work. I can not adequately acknowledge the debt I owe to my beloved teacher Sri V.Raghavendra Rao for his patient revision of my manuscript.

My thanks are also due to Sri K.S.Murthy, Librarian, University Library, Mysore and also Sri H.Deveerappa, Director, Oriental Research Institute, Mysore for having provided necessary

facilities to do the research work.

To the authorities of the Deccan College, Post-Graduate and Research Institute, Poona, Bharatiya Itihasa Samshodak, Mandal, Poona, Kannada Research Institute, Dharwar, thanks are due for generous permission to consult original records and books in their possession when I paid visit to them in December 1958.

A word about the plan of this thesis: The introduction is intended to show the importance of the subject, some neglected aspects and events and several knotty and disputed facts of our History. And it is also intended to show the methods adopted to construct a compact critical study of the Mysore - Maratha relations. The critical survey of the sources at the end of this introductory chapter discusses the character of the materials that I have used in this work. In the second chapter I have discussed the early career of Shahji as well as the rise of Mysore under Raja Wodeyar, Chamaraja Wodeyar, Immadi Raja Wodeyar and Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar with special reference to the declining fortunes of the Aravidu dynasty of the Vijayanagara empire. The succeeding three chapters are devoted to explain the coming of Shahji into Mysore and his relations with the Rajas of Mysore. The sixth chapter describes the various Maratha leaders that were working in south India as Governors and also the celebrated battle of Erode. The next three chapters deal with the influence that Bangalore wielded on young Shivaji, Karnatak expeditions prior to his coronation, the

object of his famous Karnatak expedition of 1677 and his defeat at Srirangapatna by Chikkadevaraja of Mysore. The tenth, eleventh and twelfth chapters detail the governorship of Sambhaji in Mysore, his wars with Chikkadevaraja of Mysore and his end with special reference to the attitude of the Moghals towards south India in general and Mysore in particular. The thirteenth chapter deals with the flight of Rajaram to Gingi and the relationship between the Marathas and Mysore under him. In the concluding chapter I have made an attempt to describe certain outstanding peculiarities of the Marathas and Mysoreans, the summary of the thesis and the lessons that one may learn from such a study.

Another point I want to make clear here is that by Mysore I mean old Mysore which was formed before the reorganisation of States.

As my main object is to view the relation of Mysore and the Marathas from the angle of Kannada sources, I have translated freely all the kannada sources into English and put them in inverted commas. Therefore most of the quotations that are found place in the thesis are my own.

This being a pioneer attempt in this line, I am sure it can be an eye opener to scholars unfamiliar with Kannada Literature.

With due respect and regard, I have taken the liberty of departing from the established theories of several scholars. On the basis of a number of historical evidences, I have arrived at certain conclusions which in [illegible] opinion are just, logical and correct. If fresh points of view are given in the notes of opinion by the scholars, with all my respect and gratitude I shall acknowledge and incorporate them in the work if it finds a chance of seeing the lime light of the day.

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ABBREVIATIONS.

The following abbreviations are used in citing references.

Annals	...	The Annals of the Mysore Royal Family.
A.V.C.	...	Apratima-Vīra-Charitam.
C.Vam	...	Chikkadēvarāya Vamśāvali.
C.Vij	...	Chikkadēvarāja - Vijayam.
E.C.	...	Epigraphia Carnatica.
J.I.H.	...	Journal of Indian History.
K.N.V.	...	Kanthīrava-Narasarāja - Vijayam.
M.A.R.	...	Mysore Archaeological Report.
Mys.Dho.Pur.	...	Mysoru - Dhoregala - Purvābhyudaya - Vivara.
Mys.Dho.Vam.	...	Mysoru -Dhoregala - Vamśāvali.
I.H.R.C.P.	...	Indian Historical Records Commission Proceedings.
Q.J.M.S.	...	Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society.
N.H.M.	...	New History of the Marathas.
A.H.M.P.	...	A History of the Maratha People.

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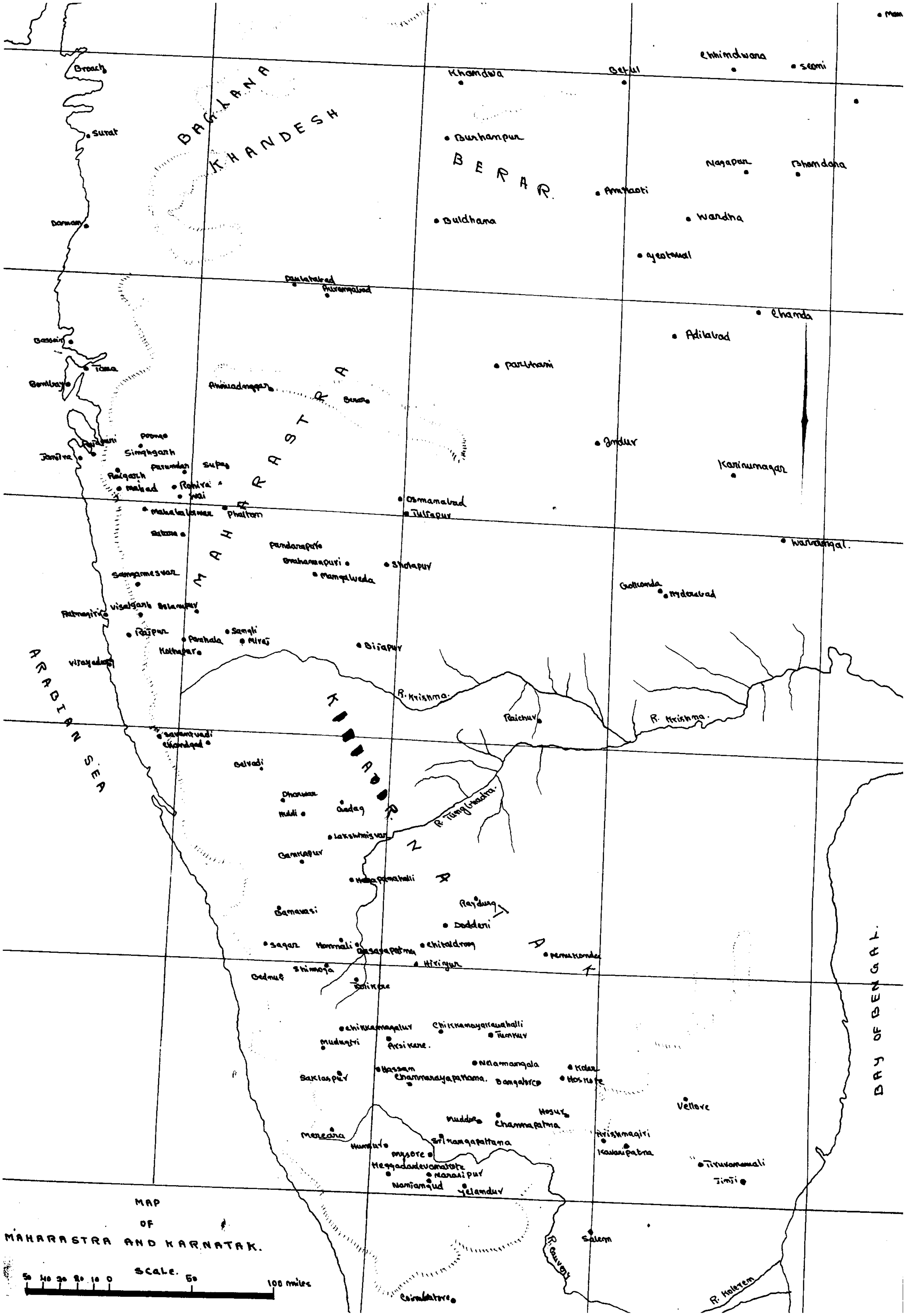
MAP
OF
MAHARASTRA AND KARNATAK.
SCALE.
50 40 30 20 10 0 50 100 miles
BAGLANA
KHANDESH
BERAR
MAHARASTRA
KARNATAK
ARABIAN SEA
BAY OF BENGAL
R. Krishna.
R. Tungbhadra.
R. Kaveri
R. Koleram
Broach
Surat
Daman
Bassein
Tana
Bombay
Janjira
Poona
Singhgarh
Purandar
Raigarh
Mahad
Wai
Mahabaleswar
Phalton
Satara
Sangamesvar
Ratnagiri
Rajpur
Panhala
Sangli
Miraj
Kolhapur
Vijayadurg
Chandgad
Belvadi
Dharwar
Mudi
Gadag
Lakshmisvar
Bankapur
Banavasi
Sagar
Shimoga
Hiriyur
Chitaldroog
Dodderi
Raydurg
Penukonda
Tumkur
Arsikere
Hassan
Channarayapattana
Bangalore
Hoskote
Kolar
Nelamangala
Saklaspur
Mudigiri
Vellore
Hosur
Channapatna
Krishnagiri
Kavaripatna
Srirangapattana
Mysore
Hunsur
Mercara
Nanjangud
Yelandur
Tiruvannamali
Jinji
Salem
Khandwa
Betul
Chhindwara
Seoni
Burhanpur
Nagapur
Bhandara
Amraoti
Buldhana
Wardha
Daulatabad
Aurangabad
Chanda
Adilabad
Parbhani
Ahmadnagar
Indur
Karimnagar
Osmanabad
Tuljapur
Pandarpur
Sholapur
Mangalweda
Golkonda
Hyderabad
Warangal
Bijapur
Raichur

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PART I

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CHAPTER I

Introduction.

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER I.

No important work either on Shahji, or Shivaji, or Sambhaji or Rajaram has attempted to give a clear-cut picture of the relations that existed between Mysore and the Marathas in the 17th century. This is perhaps due to the fact that eminent authorities on Maratha history, such as J.N.Sarkar, Rajwade, G.S.Sardesai, etc. have not been able to make use of the original kannada sources - literary and epigraphic - which contain considerable historical materials pertaining to Mysore-Maharashtra relations in the 17th century. The learned scholars present the events from 1630 to 1700 mainly from the point of view of the Marathi, Persian and other non-kannada sources. Therefore the relationship of Mysore and Maharashtra has to be viewed from the angle of Kannada sources. In this thesis I have made an earnest attempt to present "the Mysore Maratha relations under Shahji. Shivaji, Sambhaji and Rajaram as revealed in kannada sources". Treatment of such an important subject only from kannada sources will become one-sided. Therefore I have tried to bring together the scattered, disarranged mass of historical data and opinions found in kannada sources and after comparing them with available material in other non-kannada sources, to construct a compact critical study of the Mysore-Maratha relations under the four prominent Maratha rulers of the 17th century.

Historical research in Mysore has made a phenomenal

progress during the present century. But unfortunately no scientific narrative of the achievements or failures of the rulers of Mysore has yet been written by weaving together all the fascinating and colourful material found in various languages. As a consequence of the frequent incursions of the Marathas into the kingdom of Mysore particularly in the 17th century, the rulers of Mysore in succession were put in an hopeless embarrassment as to the means by which they could be checked. And these events are found recorded in Kannada literature of the 17th and 18th centuries. No scholar has ever addressed himself to the task of throwing fresh light on the relationship of Mysore and Maharashtra in the 17th century by making use of all the historical materials that are embedded in Kannada literature and in periodical reports published in important Indian States such as Mysore, Hyderabad, Madras and Travancore.

The first history of Mysore was written by Lt.Col.Mark Wilks (1760-1831). He was the British resident at the court of Mysore (1803-1808). His work entitled "Historical Sketches of the south of India in an attempt to trace the History of Mysore", remained an authority till the end of the first quarter of the present century. Since then a vast amount of original material unknown to him, has come to light. In writing his book, Wilks had mainly relied upon uncritical summaries and translations of a very few local chronicles, then available to him. On the whole

his treatment of the subject is neither exhaustive nor satisfactory when viewed from the point of modern research.

The second attempt in this direction was made by B.L.Rice in the Mysore Gazetteer, but he had completely relied upon Wilks.

The next writer on the history of Mysore was Dr.S.K.Aiyangar. In his book entitled, "Ancient India", he devoted a few pages (272-313) to wodeyars of Mysore. Though he went a little further in utilising a few epigraphic and literary sources, yet the history is brief and imperfect.

Latest works on Mysore history are: "Mysore Gazetteer" compiled by C.Hayavadana Rao for the Government of Mysore and "History of Mysore" written by C.Hayavadana Rao himself in three volumes. For my purpose the first volume (1399-1704 A.D.) is important. He has drawn upon almost all the principal original kannada sources. Further he has also collected and utilised some second-hand Persian sources as well as the first-hand English East India Company records. Having all these sources at his disposal, he has tried hard to weave the history of Mysore. Nevertheless some of his conclusions and generalisations are unsupported by adequate historical evidence. In his book he makes many references to the activities of the Marathas in Mysore, but he has not utilised the Marathi sources. Above all his treatment of Mysore Maratha relations of the 17th century is neither exhaustive nor satisfactory.

He has further tried to describe certain historical events in the light of moral values of the times.

Selection of the right kind of sources is an indispensable preliminary in writing history. Detailed consideration of facts and views, which do not come up to a minimum standard of veracity, is wasteful. The ethical consideration of historical facts is not history. Langlois and Seignbos say: "It is

> not an historian's question, for instance, whether Napoleon was right or wrong in his conduct at Jaffa, or Nelson in his behaviour at Naples ..... all that the historian has to do is to get what conclusion he can out of the conflict of evidence"

Further C.Hayavadana Rao has accumulated vast amount of Non-Marathi sources; but on many occasions, he has slipped from representing those facts in their proper historical setting. To accumulate facts is far easier than to weigh them and estimate them at their real value. It is the work of properly using facts rather than of merely collecting them that distinguishes the historian from the antiquarian. Therefore it is that Lord Acton called for "solidity of criticism" in preference to "plenitude of erudition" in the study of history.

The advancing tide of research and criticism in historical field has not only forced on us fresh points of view but brought about a new mental out-look as well.

That the acquisition of Srirangapatna by Raja Wodeyar of Mysore in 1610 from the hands of Tirumala, the Vijayanagara Viceroy, was not an act of conquest as has been held by C.Havadana Rao and others.

Of late while I was searching for Kannada sources bearing on my subject in the Oriental Research Institute, Mysore, I saw an unpublished manuscript entitling "Srirangapatnada Charitre, which in my opinion is a contemporary document. According to this work Raja Wodeyar conquered Srirangapatna not by war but by bribery. Not a drop of blood was shed. Therefore it may be called a "Bloodless Succession of 1610".

No one has attempted to give a clear-cut picture of the various causes that led the Sultan of Bijapur to launch the Karnataka expedition.

Apart from the influence of the treaty of 1636 on the Sultan of Bijapur to extend his arms only to the south, the part played by several unpatriotic chieftains of the south, such as Hanumappa Nayaka of Basavapatna, Channaiya of Nagamangala and Chief Sumuki Bagur in inducing the Bijapur Sultan to fit out an expedition into the south should not be overlooked.

Scholars on Mysore History have relegated to the background the part played by Shahji, father of the great Shivaji, in the several campaigns against Karnataka.

Being an intimate friend of Ranadulla Khan, the Commander-in-Chief of the Bijapur army in several Karnataka campaigns, Shahji did yeoman service in saving many of the Hindu kingdoms of the south. But for the intervention of Shahji in the Bijapur expedition of Ikkeri (1637-1638), the kingdom of Ikkeri

would have been parcelled out. Again in the second Karnataka expedition (1638-1639), Shahji proposed terms of treaty between the defeated Kanthirava Narasaraja of Mysore and Ranadulla Khan and settled matters in a manner satisfactory to both the parties. Thereafter Shahji was permanently established at Bangalore by Ranadulla Khan with the sanction of the Sultan of Bijapur. The latter conferred upon Shahji a jagir in Mysore, renaming Bangalore 'Islampuri'. Hence forth Bangalore became the chief centre of Maratha activities. There had been frequent wars between the Marathas on the one side and the Wodeyars of Mysore on the other, for some reason or the other. The failure on the part of Kanthirava of Mysore to honour the terms of the treaty was the main reason for the enmity between Shahji and the former. In short the violation of the treaty of 1639 held the "seeds for the future discord and conflict between the two houses".

Writing in the Modern Review 1929 on Shahji in Mysore, in the first section, J.N.Sarkar says that the Bijapur wars of 1638-1639 ended in the capture of all the territory up to Bangalore. Shahji was placed in charge of Bangalore, Ranadulla Khan went to lay siege to Srirangapatna which under Kanthirava submitted after a month's fight paying five lakhs of gold pieces. The same author continues, on the basis of persian sources that when Ranadulla Khan returned to Bijapur, Kenge Nayaka rebelled and there was a general rising of the Hindu Rajas throughout Karnataka against Bijapur. So, the war was renewed. Ranadulla Khan took many kingdoms of the Hindu Rajas in Karnataka.

In the official account no cause is given for the war and the Bijapur invasion is begun as if it came upon Mysore as a bolt from the blue. Historical events do not take place in this way. What the Persian sources lack, can be supplied by kannada sources. Hanumappa Nayaka plays a significant part in the Bijapur campaigns of Karnataka. He is not Kenge Nayaka but Kenge Hanumappa, the son of Kenge Nayaka. According to kannada accounts Hanumappa Nayaka who was placed in charge of the territory on the northern bank of the Cauvery as a result of the treaty of January 1639 between Ranadulla Khan and Kanthirava, played false and brought another invasion, this time perhaps by the incitement of Channaiya of Nagamangala. The treaty that Kanthirava entered into was only to gain time that Srirangapatna may be fortified and put in pesition for standing a siege.

The next section, division IV of J.N.Sarkar's article simply says that the war was renewed in A.D.1644. Why? No reason is given for the renewal of the war. The fort of Tikri is said to have taken and Sivappa Nayaka is stated to have wrested it from the Bijapur commander. The fort is not Tikri, but Ikkeri, the capital of the Nayaks of Bednur. Again the learned historian writes that the Sultan of Bijapur sent Khan Muhammad to recover the fort. The commander is said to have taken both Tikri and Sagar four miles from it. The places ought to be Ikkeri and Sagar, the two capitals of the Nayaks of Bednur.

The learned historian has pointed out in the same division that Shahji played no part from 1644-1646 and his life is barren

of any historical event. This is not correct, for Hindu account maintainsthat Shahji stood up in arms against Kanthirava of Mysore during those two years. The main reason that induced Shahji to wage war with the ruler of Mysore was that Nanjundaraja of Piriyapatna refused to pay annual tribute due to Mysore. Consequently Kanthirava declared war against Nanjundaraja. The latter in his distressing position appealed to Shahji who had been permanently established at Bangalore for help. Shahji cooperated with Nanjundaraja; and both of them fought against the Mysore army. The war continued for nearly two years and in the end Shahji and Nanjundaraja were completely defeated and driven out.

The VI section of J.N.Sarkar's article speaks of the Bijapur army marching by way of Anandabad, Amaravati and Gudiyatam and reaching what is called Uranjipur. This is not Daranchur as suggested, but Vrinchipuram, the capital, in the days of the Hindus, of the Bana country in the Palar valley.

It is incorrect to say that Mustafa Khan, after the defeat of Srirangaraya at Vellore, returned by the same way by which he entered the country of Vellore. On the other hand it is evident that Mustafa Khan and Shahji returned to Bijapur with his vast army passing by way of Mysore, Channarayapatna and Hassan. One of the Jesuit letters clearly says that Mustafa Khan was compelled to withdraw from Mysore to the country wherefrom he had come. From Mysore Mustafa Khan proceeded to Channarayapatna and

inflicted a crushing defeat on its ruling chieftain and retraced his steps to Bijapur ravaging Hassan and other districts he met on the way.

The next section deals with the greatest campaign of Mustafa Khan which started in January 1648. The eminent historian does not give proper reasons for Mustafa Khan's campaign against Gingee. Tirumala Nayaka of Madura wanted to form a great confederacy consisting of the Nayaks of Gingi and Tanjore. The Nayak of Tanjore disclosed the plan of Tirumala to Srirangaraya. Being enraged at the attitude of the Tanjore Nayak and Srirangaraya, Tirumala appealed to Golkonda to invade the latter's territory. Mir Jumla marched south and laid siege to Gingee. Then Tirumala utilised his good office with Bijapur, obtained its cooperation and marched to the relief of Gingee. Besides this, the kannada account maintains that the conquest of Srirangapatna had remained a mighty problem to the Sultan of Bijapur who in his firm resolution to take Srirangapatna by any means - foul or fair, asked his men if there were any among them who could reduce Kanthirava of Srirangapatna to submission. Mustafa Khan offered to undertake the responsibility of leading an expedition into the south. Thus Mustafa Khan come to the south.

No scholar has attempted to give proper reasons for the invasion of Mysore by Khan Muhammad. Throughout her history, Mysore had never met such a disaster as the defeat - of 1654 at the hands of Khan Muhammad.

No light has been thrown so far, on the frequent wars between Shahji and Mummadi Kempe gowda of Magadi. In the war of 1658 Mummadi Kempe Gowda, unable to reconcile himself with the growing power of Shahji at Bangalore which was once the great capital of their predecessors, made a surprise attack on the capital city of Bangalore and inflicted a crushing defeat on the latter taking possession of all the spoils of the war.

Again in 1663 Shahji had come into armed conflict with the army of Mysore under the celebrated Commander-in-Chief named Nandinathaiya. In the sanguinary fight that ensued between the two renowned generals of the age, Shahji was beaten off. Nandinathaiya made a triumphal march into the city of Srirangapatna with vast booty taken from the fort of Bangalore. Throughout this period the relationship between the rulers of Mysore and the Marathas was not cordial.

Eminent historians like Rajwade, Sardesai, Sarkar and others held the view that Shahji's death occured at Basavapatna while he was hunting. This opinion is wrong for we have got an epigraphic record which says that Shahji died at Hodigere.

Sarkar's opinion that Shahji was a subordinate officer working only under the eyes and orders of the Sultan of Bijapur finds a complete refutation in the light of his own political exploits and vestiges of his own work in the fortifications and other structures found in Mysore State. His works in Mysore bear ample testimony to the fact that he occupied a position of great

importance. As a matter of fact, he seems to have continued to govern those parts of the conquered Channapatna Viceroyalty, but shifted his government from Bangalore to Chikkaballapura and Kolar as his headquarters with Nandi as his summer residence. Shiva Bharata, Radha Madhava Vilasa Champu and some kannada accounts clearly explain the important position that he occupied. Shahji was really the founder of the Maratha dominion in Mysore.

As regards the actual successor of Kanthirava Narasaraja of Mysore, C.Hayavadana Rao says that Devaraja Wodeyar succeeded the former. He had completely ignored the rule of Doddadevaraja Wodeyar. On the basis of literary and epigraphic sources it is stated that Doddadevaraja was the actual successor of Kanthirava Narasaraja and that he ruled from 1659 -1673. The next person in succession to him was Devaraja who ruled for only a short period of five months.

Various non-kannada sources throw a flood of light on the activities of Ekoji after his usurpation of the throne of Tanjore; but unfortunately they say little or nothing about his doings before that significant event, especially during the last years of his father's life and before his drive into the south. Contemporary kannada literary as well as epigraphic sources say much about this neglected portion of his life. I have here made a pioneer attempt to draw a complete portrait of Ekoji.

Literary and epigraphic sources bring to light five

important Marathas bearing the same name, 'Sambhaji'. I have tried to identify the person who played a significant part in Mysore politics.

So far as the origin of Shivaji was concerned, the kannada account brings to light that he was of low origin as he was born of a mother belonging to a carpenter's community. This account is compared with other non-kannada sources so as to find out its reliability. The dogmatic opinion of Grant Duff that Shivaji could never write his name is rejected on the basis several English East India Company records and Marathi sources; and it is proved that Shivaji knew well both reading and writing. Nothing had wielded greater influence on the mind of Shivaji than the influence of Bangalore when he visited it in 1640. Two-year stay at Bangalore where Hindu life was still flowing in pristine purity unimposed upon by any foreign domination, gave Shivaji all that was necessary for his mental make-up and future plan. In short Shivaji's ideal was formed in the shadow of Vijayanagara at Bangalore. The kannada account gives the graphic picture of Afzal Khan's incident, Shaistha Khan's incident, Shivaji's visit to Delhi and his wonderful escape and the coronation ceremony; and a comparative study of all these points with other non-kannada sources is made to arrive at correct conclusions. According to the kannada account, the judgment of Gaga Bhatta in respect of Shivaji's claim to the coronation ceremony is very interesting. Gaga Bhatta says that though Shivaji was a Carpenter by caste from the mother side, the fathers side should be taken into account

prominently; and as his father was a Kshatriya, Shivaji was eligible for coronation ceremony.

The territorial encroachments of Chikkadevaraja of Mysore in the vicinity of Karnataka-Bijapur-Balaghat and the assertion of independence by Kolar and Doddaballapura between 1670 and 1677 were some of the most important causes which induced Shivaji to launch the Karnataka expedition.

The opinion of several scholars such as Ranade, J.N. Sarkar and others in respect of the object with which Shivaji projected the campaign of Karnataka is rejected on the basis of Martin's account according to which the sole aim of Shivaji was conquest and administration. Likewise the theory that Raghunath Narayan Hanumanthe was the principal originator of Shivaji's south Indian expedition is set aside in the light of a French letter from Surat which says that the expedition was decided upon, in Shivaji's council as early as 1675, a year earlier than Raghunatha's visit to Shivaji with his proposals.

Scholars like M.H.Krishna have expressed great doubt about Shivaji's presence in the Maratha invasion of Mysore, of 1677. But on the basis of several authorities it has been proved that Shivaji was present in the Maratha invasion of Mysore and suffered an utter discomfiture at the hands of Chikkadevaraja.

Referring to the conquest of Shivaji in the northern

direction of Mysore during his South Indian expedition, Sarkar says that Shivaji ascending the Eastern Ghats from Mysore had taken possession of 'No Man's Land'. It is not right to say that the territories lying north and northeast of Mysore were governed by none. Several inscriptions found at Kolar and Doddaballapura clearly bear testimony to the efficient administration of several able and powerful Governors in these territories.

No writer either on Maratha history or Mysore history has thrown light on the viceroyalty of Sambhaji, the son of Shivaji at Kolar in Mysore before he became the ruler of Maharashtra in 1680. Epigraphic records found at various places in Mysore have not only proved the rule of Sambhaji and his wife, Jayita Bai in several places of Mysore but an armed conflict between Dilir Khan, Commander of the Moghal army and Sambhaji in the vicinity of Nandi hill as well.

As regards the relations between Kavi Kalasa, the chief adviser and Sambhaji, Sardesai's opinion is that Kavi Kalasa was not the spy of Aurangzeb slowly working to bring about ruin of Sambhaji; and he further writes that "there is absolutely no proof to support such an allegation". But there is enough of historical proof to say that Kavi Kalasa was a spy employed by Aurangzeb to destroy Sambhaji.

Depending upon the Hindu accounts and the Jesuit letters,

it is possible to reinterpret Sambhaji's invasion of Mysore in 1686. When Chikkadevarajas fame was at its lowest ebb, Sambhaji invaded Mysore but, according to Hindu accounts, was defeated and driven out.

J.N.Sarkar has not given a proper estimate of Ekoji. His estimate of Ekoji does not take into account the tyranny of his government and his utter unpopularity towards the end of his rule. An attempt is made here to give the true picture of Ekoji on the basis of latest evidence.

It has been the opinion of almost all the authorities on the history of Mysore that Chikkadevaraja purchased Bangalore from Ekoji of Tanjore for three lakhs of rupees and retained it till his death. But in the light of latest research, we arrive at the conclusion that Chikkadevaraja did not purchase Bangalore from the Marathas and could not retain the city for so long.

So far it has been maintained that Rajaram when hard pressed by the Moghals, left Panhala, reached Bednur and sent his men to the court of Channammaji, the celebrated ruler of the kingdom of Bednur so as to secure shelter for his stay for sometime during his flight to the impregnable fort of Gingi. Further it has been pointed out that Channammaji had not only offered protection to the refugee monarch but also sent her guards to escort the unfortunate Maratha leader and his followers as far as the geographical frontiers of her kingdom. Again Channammaji was supposed to have resisted the Moghals while they arrived at

Bednur in pursuit of the Marathas. What is more interesting is the narration that the Marathas had already left the environs of the Bednur kingdom by the time that the Moghals had arrived at the capital city, Bednur.

This theory may be set aside in the light of the latest research according to which the Marathas were still at Bednur when the Moghals under the able generalship of Jan Nisar Khan (Jansara Khan) came and encamped at the city. The Marathas under Santaji, the dazzling star of the Deccan warfare, fought stubbornly against the Moghals; and the bloody war came to an end by the timely intervention of Rani Channammaji who purchased peace from the Moghals by agreeing to pay heavy ransom. It was only after the hostility was neutralised by Channammaji, the Marathas departed from Bednur.

No writer either on Mysore side or Maratha side has clearly pointed out the route by which Rajaram and his followers passed from Panhala to Gingi. In fact the Marathas, after they had escaped the vigilence of the Moghals at Bangalore went through Channapatna, Srirangapatna and Mysore to Gingi.

What were the factors that contributed enormously for the brilliant victory of Santaji over the Moghals in the famous battle of Dodderi? Nothing has been said about it. In fact Santaji who was a farsighted general, arrived at an unalterable conclusion that unless he would ally himself with some local

palegar, it would be hard to cross the sword against the Moghals in Karnataka. Therefore Santaji made an alliance with Baramappa Nayaka, the palegar of Chitradurga and secured all possible help in men and materials to prosecute the war against the Moghals. This and the prevailing political situation in Karnatak helped greatly for Santaji's brilliantly successful campaign in Karnataka against the Moghals.

Lastly the sending of an embassy by Chikkadevaraja of Mysore to the Moghal court of Aurangzeb was nothing but a diplomatic move designed to secure the friendship of the latter to strike terror into the hearts of the innumerable palegars of Mysore who had not submitted to the former.

SOURCES.

The sources on which this piece of research is based are broadly divided into two groups: (1) literary and (2) epigraphical. The contemporary kannada literature has got one peculiarity which every student of History ought to know. It is more in the nature of poetic compositions than of historical narrative type. Bardic flattery and exaggeration have been found in all countries to be the greatest perverters of historical truth. In Mysore, as elsewhere, the art of literary mendicancy was carried to nauseating lengths by the court flatterers of the Hindu kings. The very training, mode of life and literary models of these poets made them unfit to be sober recorders of contemporary and observed facts.

For instance, Chikkadevaraja's court was adorned with learned men such as Tirumalarya, Chikkaupadhyaya, Timma Kavi, Mallikarjuna and others; but they were all poets, flourishing on the munificent state of the Royal family. In their poetical compositions, they elevate their patron to the seventh Heaven saying that he was the complete incarnation of Narayana. They glorify the smallest exploit of their master and at best omit what is inglorious to him. Historical events are wrapped up in poetical hyperbole and mere verbiage. So the duty of the historian is to disentangle sober truth from all the miracles, rhetorical flourishes and emotional gush of the poets.

Bearing this caveat in mind one has to look into the Kannada works of the 17th and 18th centuries. Among the literary sources we will have to distinguish between primary and secondary sources. Primary sources include literary works, inscriptions, coins, travels, contemporary chronicles and memoirs.

Most of the primary literary works found either in Kannada or in Sanskrit were produced under the patronage of the Mysore Royal House during the 17th and 18th centuries. Only a few of them have been published, while others have been preserved in the form of manuscripts - palm-leaf and paper - in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library at Mysore. These works present a number of interpretative difficulties: (1) They are not properly dated; (2) the names of the authors are not often mentioned. Probable chronological limit of these compositions has to be guessed

from understanding their contents and, in certain cases from making a comparative study of the contemporary inscriptions.

(1) "The Kanthīrava Narasarāja Vijayam", written by Gōvinda Vaidya in 1648, is a contemporary quasi-historical work bearing on Ranadulla Khan's invasion of Srirangapatna. The author has treated the subject in an ephic grandeur. Full light has been thrown on the fight between the Bijapur army and Mysore army at Mysore and Srirangapatna. The part played by Shahji and other Maratha heroes in the campaign of Srirangapatna is neatly sketched; but the author of the work has not pronounced correct judgment on historical personages. The internal data of the work conveys the idea that it was written in accordance with the will of Nanjaraja, the Dalvoy of Kanthirava Narasaraja, then the ruler of Mysore; and as such it pours fowrth wholesome praise on the Commander of Mysore army, particularly when he met the Bijapur army. Therefore the work must be handled with due care and caution.

(2) "Chikkadēvarāya Vamśāvali", written by Tirumalārya, the play-mate and the Prime Minister of Chikkadēvarāja of Mysore is a prose work in Halagannada concerning mainly the rise and fortunes of the Mysore Royal House, down to Chikkadēvarāja. This work seems to have been written somewhere between 1678 and 1680. This supplies us with valuable information regarding the foundation of the Royal House of Mysore, efficient administration of Raja-wodeyar; expedition of Ranadulla Khan into Mysore; and the early

career of Chikkadevaraja.

Though a prose work, the Chikkadēvarāya Vamśāvali is conceived throughout in the poetic vein. It reads more like an epic poetry than as a plain prose narrative. It is full of imageries, similies, metaphors and heroic and devotional sentiments. Historical personages and events are described with poetic license, lack of chronological sequence; and are often coloured by personal predilections as well. Giving due margin for these limitations, we must utilise this work for our historical purposes.

(3) "Chikkadēvarāja Vijayam" is the next literary production of Tirumalārya. It seems to have been written between 1682 and 1686. It is a champu work in Halagannada, dealing with the pedigree of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar. The author calls it an epic. It contains six cantos. So far as the literary merit is concerned, it is written, on the same model as "Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali". It deals with the traditional history of the rise of the kingdom of Mysore under Raja Wodeyar and his successors. It throws fresh light on the relationship between Mysore and Bednur and the siege of Erode (1667).

(4) "Apratima-Vīra-Charitam" is the most important work, written by Tirumalārya. It is a Halagannada treatise in four parts on poetics (Alankara). It is written in accordance with the order of Chikkadevaraja. It is so styled because it concerns mainly the political achievements of Chikkadevaraja. "Apratima Vira" is the title assumed by Chikkadevaraja for having curbed the might of

Shivaji, the famous Maratha empire-builder. From the study of internal data, it is possible to determine the date of its compositions at 1694 or 1695. Besides being a text-book on poetics in Kannada, the work throws welcome light on the relations of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar with his contemporaries such as the Nayak of Madura, Ikkeri, the Marattas and the Moghals.

(5) Another important work supposed to have been written by Chikkadēvarāja himself is "Chikkadēvarāja Binnapam" (1700-1704). Though it mainly concerns the essence of Srivaishnava Philosophy in the form of thirty humble prose petitions, addressed by Chikkadevaraja to God Narayana of Melkote, the opening chapte is very important for one purpose. It gives in brief the most important exploits of Chikkadevaraja. It forms the main source of information for dealing with the Mysore-Maratha relations.

(6) "Keladi Nripa Vijaya", published under the authority of the Oriental Research Institute, Mysore, is a kannda work on the Nayaks of Ikkeri. This was written by a Brahman Pandit named Linganna who was patronised by one of the Nayaks of Ikkeri. A detailed study of the books shows that he lived, perhaps in the last quarter of the 18th century. He narrates the historical events since the inception of the Nayakship at Ikkeri upto 1763.

Making due allowance to the first part of the work, as it is largely mixed with the poetical elements, the rest of the work may surely be said to be a historical work. The author has given

a detailed account of the rulers of Ikkeri and their relations with the neighbouring chieftains in the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries. Of all the chapters, the nineth chapter is most important for our study. The author has given geneaologlcal tables of the Moghals, Marathas, Adil Shahi and Qutb Shahi dynasties. So far as the Marathas are concerned, the facts that are to be told earlier are narrated later and vice versa. In giving a brief account of the emergence of the Marathas and their wars with the Moghals and several other powers, the author shifted certain historical events to have taken place under particular historical personages, which do not agree with the account found in Marathi and Persian sources. For instance, certain events that had taken place under Shivaji with whom we are most concerned, are stated to have taken place under one whose name is also Shivaji of some three or four generations before. Therefore a few historical facts in this work have not found their proper historical setting; and I have made an earnest attempt to arrange the facts and utilise them with due care.

II. On the whole the above mentioned contemporary and later kannada works and several other kannada works which I have mentioned in the Bibliography are to be handled with care to avoid misinterpretations.

According to my subdivision of sources, next comes inscriptions. Epigraphy is an indispensable aid to history. Inscriptions are the most copious and authentic sources for South Indian history in general and Mysore history in particular.

Generally, their evidence is contemporary and precise and contains much less of the personal element than is contained in other sources. Allowance has to be made for royal and governmental rodomontade and spurious or forged plates have to be guarded against.

Kannada Inscriptions - lithic as well as copper-plate - bearing on the subject under investigation are found in the volumes of Epigraphia Carnatica. Moreover inscriptions are found scattered over the volumes of Epigraphia Carnatica (including supplemental volumes for Mysore and Bangalore districts), the Mysore Archaeological Reports, the Madras Epigraphists report, the Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency. If we use them with greatest discrimination, they throw light on genealogical lists, chronological details and disconnected facts. They generally deal with the gifts, donations and grants of the rulers to institutions or private individuals. The inscriptions are mostly corroborative evidences. They provide only a skeleton of history; and it is the function of literary sources to fill it with blood, flesh and life. Therefore the epigraphical records, used with care, form an important source of informations for our work.

III. A particular branch of the literary sources is the series of annual reports sent to Europe by the Jesuit missionaries in South India. The letters of Father J. Bertrand included in the "La Mission Du Madure", (1659-1686) contain a brief sketch of the political conditions of South India. John Lockman's Travels of

the Jesuits", (1701), Dr. John Fryer's "Travels in India", (1676-1680), Niccolao Manucci's "Storio Do Mogor", (1653-1708) and extracts published in Orme's "Historical Fragments", William Foster's "English Factories in India", contain valuable information on the political, economic and social conditions of South India.

The following observations of J.Lockman give a fair estimate of the value of Jesuit letters. "No men are better qualified to describe nations and countries than the Jesuits. Their education; their extensive learning; the pains they take to acquire the languages of the several regions they visit; the opportunities they have; these must give our Jesuits a much more perfect insight into the genius and character of a nation than others ......upon the whole, the Jesuits have the best opportunity of furnishing us with valuable accounts of many far distant countries". Father Bertrand writes that the chief merit of these Jesuit letters consist in their having been written,'without any thought of publication' by men who,' by duty and intimacy of confidential correspondence, offer, to their superiors or fellow-members, a faithful picture of their work and success, without any motive of exaggerating the colour'. But this merit seems to be of doubtful historical value. Their desire either to justify their existence or enhance their reputation might have led them consciously or unconsciously into exaggerations & misstatements. It is impossible to believe all that is said and written by them. They were ignorant in many aspects of Hindu life. Therefore in

cases where their evidence is of doubtful value, care has to be taken to disentangle truth from its misrepresentation or distortion.

IV. Persian Sources: "Muhammad Nāmah", a contemporary persian history of the reign of Muhammad Adil Shah of Bijapur(1627-1656), written by Md.Zahur is a very important source for our purpose. This has been rendered into English by J.N.Sarkar in "Modern Review". A much better analysis of the same work in English, can be found in the book entitled "Shivaji Nibhandavali", part II. "Basatin-us-Salatin" is another persian work written by Muhammad Ibrahim Zubairi in 1824. D.V.Verma in his introduction to "Muhammad Nāmah" in "Shivaji Nibhandavali' says that by comparison, the Basatin-us-Salatin is a faithful copy, word for word, of the Muhammad Namah.

"Muhammad Nāmah" has given a detailed account of the conquests of Ranadulla Khan and Nawab Mustafa Khan in the Karnatak and Malnad, giving the names of many forts which have not been referred to by Basatin-us-Salatin. It throws plenty of light on Shahji, the father of Shivaji and several kings and Nayaks of South India.

Most of the persian sources have been described and discussed by J.N.Sarkar in his monumental works such as 'Aurangzeb' (five volumes), "Shivaji and His Times" and "House of Shivaji". I have freely adopted his works and translations. In my thesis

I have weighed kannada and persian sources and have tried to say which ever is more reliable.

V. <u>Sanskrit works:</u> "Shiva Bhārat", written by Paramananda is a valuable source of information for Maratha history. It is a poem in Sanskrit. The author, Paramananda seems to have written at the instance of Shivaji. Being patronised by Shivaji, the courtier, like kannada poets, had glorified his master in pompous language and omitted what was inglorious to this patron. While we are going through the work, we can easily find out poetic exaggerations; and set aside. This Shiva Bharata is translated into English by R.P.Patwardhan and Rawlinson in their Source Book on Maratha History. The siege of Srirangapatna by the Bijapur army; the part played by Shahji in the siege; Shivaji's activites are all very well depicted in the book.

"Rādha-Mādhav-Vilās-Champu" by Jayarām and other sanskrit works were secured by me translated into English.

VI. <u>Marathi Sources:</u> Several important Marathi sources were translated into English by eminent scholars like Sardesai, J.N. Sarkar, Kincaid and Parasnis, Grant Duff and others; and these authors have freely used these sources and where-ever it was necessary they give literal translations for them. Hence lack of deep knowledge in Marathi has not handicapped me in the preparation of my thesis. I have depended upon those literal translations. on the advice of Sri B.G.Khare, Secretary of B.I.S.M., POONA, I bought more than 15 Marathi books which were translated to me

by Sri V.Raghavendra Rao, retired professor of History, whose knowledge of History is both extensive and original. Therefore by my ignorance of the Marathi language, I was not handicapped in preparing my thesis.

Value of European Factory Records: The records of the English factories on the Bombay coast and the inland are of the highest value for dates and facts. The English at Rajapur and Karwar employed paid spies who travelled in Shivaji's dominions and brought back news of Shivaji's doings and plans. These factory records have the supreme merit of having been preserved in the original manuscript without any later garbling or interpolation.

The Records of Fort St.George concerning Mysore, comprise the Diary and Consultation Book, Fort St.David Consultation Letters to St.Fort George, Letters from Fort St.George, Despatches to England. Though these records relate to the commercial activities of the English and the French on the coast lines of India, incidentally they refer to the political conditions which prevailed in the south in general and in Mysore in particular.

Secondary Sources: There are a few secondary sources in kannada. "Mysore Dhoregala Vamśavali", (1800), "Mysore Rajara Charitre" (1800) by Venkataramanaiah, "Mysore Dhoregala Purvabhyudaya Vivara" (1710-1714), "Kalale Arasugala Vamśāvali" (1830), "Rājāvali Kathe" (1838) by Deva Chandra and the Annals of the Mysore Royal Family (first compiled in the Mysore Palace in 1864-1865) are some of the

secondary sources in Kannada. Their value, as historical sources cannot be ignored because they are later compilations. They are written not out of nothing but on some original documents. They are chronicles of a quasi-historical character. Care has to be taken in setting aside what is unwanted and unreliable and noting down what is most essential. Therefore a great degree of discrimination is necessary in utilising them as historical sources.

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PART II

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Mysore - Maratha Relations under Shahji.

CHAPTERS II - The Rise of Maratha Power in Mysore.

III - Relations between Mysore and Bijapur: Rise of Shahji in Mysore.

IV - Relations between Shahji and Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar (1639 - 1648 A.D.).

V - Activities of Shahji in Mysore(1648-1664 A.D.).

VI - Maratha Viceroys in Mysore: Battle of Erode (1667 A.D.).

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Chapter II

The Rise of Maratha Power in Mysore.

Early History of Maharashtra: Mysore and Maharashtra have almost always been under one imperial rule from early times to a very late period, the centre of power being generally towards Karnataka, the southern and central parts comprising what is called Mysore. Several dynasties that rose into political prominence were from Karnataka. For instance, the Chalukyas (early and later) and the Rashtrakutas were purely Karnataka dynasties while Yadavas belonged to Maharashtra. Even the Muhammadan Bahamani rulers and most of the succeeding rulers paid their homage more to Karnataka than to Maharashtra. It was only in the Maratha period that Karnataka had a separate political existence. The credit of founding the Maratha rule in Mysore undoubtedly goes to Shahji.

Bahamani & Vijayanagara: The Yadavas of Devagiri had established their authority over almost all the present Maharashtra and the Karnataka. They played their historic role most amazingly and left the stage of south indian politics in the 14th century. It was in this political environment that two kingdoms emerged: Kingdom of Vijayanagara and the Muhammadan Bahamani Kingdom, founded in 1336 and 1347 respectively. As the distance of the two kingdoms was not far away from each other, it was but natural that the two kingdoms frequently came into armed conflict on

several political issues. The Bahamani Sultans found their permanent settlements in Maharashtra and carried on their wars against the local chieftains with all their tactics and tricks. The existence of an independent Vijayanagara kingdom in the close proximity of Bahamani kingdom was a perennial source of danger to the latter. The Vijayanagara Empire which arose for the great historic purpose of preserving the Hindu Dharma, stood forth as a bulwark against the advancing tide of Muslim invasions for more than two and a half centuries. In the meanwhile the Bahamani kingdom was divided into five Sultanates, and continued its fight unabated with the Hindu Empire. They realised that it would be impossible for them to destroy the flourishing Hindu Empire if they could not unite. They formed a great coalition and gave a shattering blow to the Hindu Empire in the famous battle of Rakshasatangadi in 1565 A.D. The destruction of the Empire did not mean its complete extinction. Somehow it survived and tried to recover its lost strength by changing the capital from the front line at Vijayanagara to the second line at Penukonda. Even here it was not free from the Muslims. The Sultan of Bijapur from the west and the Sultan of Golkonda from the east with united strength, continued to invade the Karnatak. It was in one of the Bijapur Sultan's Karnataka expeditions that the Maratha came and established their rule in Mysore.[1]

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1. Vijayanagara Sexcentenary commemoration Volume, pp. 119-120.

As Dr.S.K.Aiyangar observes, "it was Akbar's vision of empire that has to be regarded as perhaps the root cause of the rise of the Marathas to political power, and it may equally be well be regarded that the collapse of the Hindu empire of Vijayangara was as much of a contributory, as the Moghal advance in the Dekhan, to the rise of the Marathas as a nation and as a political power in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries".[1]

A. Sankara Rao had written in his article, "Hindu India from Talikota to Sivaji'sRise" that it was the reactionary policy of Aurangazeb which acted as a great impetus to the rise of the Maratha power. There was no other alternative for a nation but to assert itself.[2]

The Moghal rulers projected a campaign of conquest and tried to bring in as many kingdoms as possible under their control. At the unexpected termination of Shah Jahan's rule, the two Muslim states, namely, Bijapur and Golkonda were alone left in the Deccan. Unable to bear the brunt of the Moghals, the two states began to shiver. Thinking deeply about the steps to be taken to deal with the Moghals, they arrived at the conclusion that it would be better to fight and die an honourable death on the field of battle, instead of submitting to the imperial authority meekly. In this fight they naturally, utilised all their available

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1. Sivaji Nibhandavali, Part II - P.27. The author spells Shivaji as Sivaji and Shahji as Sahaji.

2. Quarterly Journal - Andhra Historical Research Society, Vol. II, No.1, P.57.

resources and the Marathas as such emerged on the political scene as auxiliaries rendering valiant service" in this cause of Dekhan independence of the Indian empire of the Great Moghal".[1]

Ever since the overthrow of Yadava Ramdeva by Allauddin Khilji, the Marathas lost their individuality. Malik Kafur, Commander-in-Chief of Allauddin's army started his devastating expeditions and brought large parts of South India under subjection. Thus Allauddin, before his death could boast of having subjugated the whole of Indian continent. Though the Marathas had become extinct as a nation politically, they were never crushed altogether in practical life. They continued to drag on a submerged existence right up to the emergence of Shivaji as a power in the Deccan. They found themselves largely employed in different branches of the administration of the Islamic states of Bahamani kingdom. In fact they rose to high ranks and displayed their marvellous skill. When the Bahamani kingdom broke up, they realised that it was unsafe to remain in Bedar where they were largely employed. Consequently they went to Bijapur and Ahmadnagar and took up the service of their sovereigns.[2] On the whole, the Bahamani rulers and their successor's kingdom deserve to be honoured for having recognized the martial valour of the Maratha people and trained them in the art of Government and war. The slow-moving but hardy peasants were converted into a race of matchless warriors

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1. Shivaji Nibandhavali, Part II, pp.29-30.
2. Sardesai: New History of the Marathas, Vol.I, PP. 26-32.

and keen politicians.

Rise of Ahmadnagar: Ahmadnagar came to prominence under Malik Ambar who seized power of the puppet king Murtaza II and made himself the defacto ruler of the whole kingdom.[1] He was a man of consumate talents and energy. He introduced the Moghal revenue system which made his government at once rich and powerful. It is said that he remade the history of the Deccan.[2] It was during the time of incessant wars between the Moghals and Ambar that several Maratha families such as Bhonsles, Ghorpades, Nimbalkars and others emerged on the political scene. At the same time Maloji and his son Shahji of Bhonsle family came to prominence as the true loyalists of the Nizam Shahi Kingdom, serving in several ranks of the army. Having suffered early in life, Maloji found an opportunity to join the personal guards of Jadhav Rao who distinguished himself as one of the reputed generals under the Nizam Shahi rule.[3] Jadhav Rao's daughter, Jija Bai was married to Shahji, the son of Maloji in a dramatic way. Paramananda says that Jadhav Rao "seeing Shahji, generous, humane, spirited, well-skilled in fighting, endowed with all excellent qualities, gave his daughter Jiju with a handsome dowry".[4]

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1. Sarkar: House of Shivaji, P.26; Kincaid and Parasnis: A History of the Maratha people, P.2.
2. For full life history of Ambar see Sarkar's House of Shivaji, pp.5-25; Indian Historical Quarterly, September 1933, P.629; Sardesai: New History of the Marathas, Vol.I, P.48.
3. Wilks: Historical sketches of the Deccan in an attempt to trace the History of Mysore, Vol. I.(1930), P.43 (Hereafter it will be quoted as Wilks: History of Mysore); Sardesai: New History of the Marathas Vol.I, pp.46-47 (Hereafter it will be stated as N.H.M.); Sarkar: Shivaji and His Times, Chap II.P.17.
4. R.P.Patwardhan and Rawlinson: Source Book of Maratha History, Chapter I.

Rise of Shahji: After the death of Maloji in 1620, Shahji won the love and confidence of Malik Ambar and stood as his right-hand man though many of the Marathas including Jadhav Rao deserted to Shah Jahan. There began war between the Moghals and the Nizam Shahi Sultan of Ahmadnagar. In the battle of Bhatawadi fought in November 1624, Malik Ambar won a brilliant victory over the Moghals. Shahji played a predominant part in this war. In this connection Sardesai says: " This battle of Bhatwadi forms a

> landmark in the history of the Maratha rise, as Shahji's genius shone brilliantly on the occasion in support of Malik Ambar".[1]

This famous battle of Bhatawadi[2] taught Shahji valuable lessons. Unfortunately the cordial relationship between Ambar and Shahji did not last long. Consequent upon this, Shahji left Ahmadnagar and took up his service under the Sultan of Bijapur about 1625. Shahji served him with all his zeal and devotion up to 1628. Shiva Bharat says that

> "Ibrahim Adil Shah shared his own seat with him".[3]

As in the dictum,'familiarity breeds contempt', there arose misunderstanding between the Sultan of Bijapur and Shahji; and as a result of which Shahji left the service of the Sultan of Bijapur and tried his fortunes again with Ahmadnagar. During

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1. New History of the Marathas Vol. I, P.54.
2. For the description of the battle see 'Shiva Bharat' by Paramananda in the Source Book of Maratha History Chapter III and also Muhamad Khan's Iqbal namah pp.236-237 cited by Sarkar in "House of Shivaji", P.23.
3. Source book of Maratha History, Chapter IV, P.7.

the subsequent war between Ahmadnagar and the Moghal Emperor Shah Jahan, many of the Maratha nobles including Jadhav Rao had lost their lives. Jadhav Rao who was on the Moghal side was trapped by the Sultan of Ahmadnagar and murdered in cold-blood. The horrible butcheries and cruelties perpetrated by the Sultan of Ahmadnagar were a severe warning to the other Marathas serving the Sultan. At this critical juncture, Shahji found it expedient to change over to the service of the Moghals as they had already tempted him with position and honour. Bidding good-bye to the rapidly declining fortunes of the Nizam Shahi Kingdom, Shahji took up the post of Mansabdar under Shah-Jahan. Shahji served the Moghal cause from November 1630 to May 1632.[1]

Shahji did not remain long in the service of the Moghals for the latter failed to retain the loyalty of the former. Certain jagirs which had been conferred upon Shahji by the Imperial authority were forcibly taken back. This offended his feelings. Immediately he left the Moghals[2] in 1632.

In the same year Shahji went over to the side of Ahmadnagar. He stood boldy to resuscitate the rapidly declining fortunes of the kingdom. Shahji espoused the cause of the Sultan of Ahmadnagar, by rescuing him from the prison and proclaiming him as the ruler of Ahmadnagar which was a challenge to both the

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1. Sardesai: N.H.M. Vol.I, P.59 says that Shahji was in the Imperial service from Nov.1630 to March 1632. But Padshah namah, P.497 referred to by J.N.Sarkar in "House of Shivaji" P.31 says that Shahji joining the Imperial service in Nov. 1630, left the place in May 1632. The latter authority is preferred here.
2. Padshah namah as referred to in House of Shivaji P.31; Shiva Bharat in Source Book of Maratha History, P.7.

Moghals and the Bijapurians. Within so short a period of three months he turned out tremendous work of fixing the capital at Pemgiri or Bhinghad, a strong, inaccessible fort of Ahmadnagar. He reconquered many of the territories lost by the kingdom in the previous wars. Crowning Murtaza Nizam Shah II as the king, Shahji carried on the Government for three years.[1] But very soon war broke out between the Moghals and Murtaza Nizam Shah II. A severe battle was fought at Parenda on Feb.24th, 1633 in which Shahji won a brilliant victory over the Moghals.[2] Roused by the defeat of the Moghal army at the hands of Shahji, Shah Jahan undertook an expedition in person and arrived at Daulatabad on Feb.21, 1636 along with his son, Aurangzeb, now 17 years. Though Shahji conducted a gallant defence, he was unable to stand before the stupendous Moghal army. Shahji was defeated. In October 1636 a treaty was concluded according to which Shahji gave up to the Moghals the puppet Nizam Shahi Prince, surrendered eight of his forts (including Mahuli and Junnar). Even the name of the Nizam Shahi State was abolished. Adil Shah acknowledged the overlordship of the Emperor and Shahji entered the service of Bijapur. The Bijapur Government conferred upon Shahji the Jagirs of Chamargunda and Poona. Shahji himself writes of this fact:

> "When I have quitted Mahuli and hurried to Bijapur within the space of 20 days along with Ranadulla Khan, the Shah

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1. Sardesai: N.H.M., Vol.I. P.60.
2. Sarkar: House of Shivaji, pp.39-41; Sardesai: N.H.M., P.61.

of Bijapur conferred on me a Jagir of four lakhs and commissioned me for the conquest of Karnatak".[1]

Thenceforward Shahji stood as the pillar of the Bijapur kingdom to his last although in December 1647 he had for a time thought of taking up service under the Sultan of Golkonda. In this connection says Sardesai:

> "By boldly standing forth to oppose the Moghal Emperor, he served the cause of the Deccan Sultanates and earned their respects and goodwill as a champion of their liberties".[2]

Further he observes:

> "The courage and foresight with which Shahji defied the Moghal power at least for three years, dodging and deluding renowned Moghal generals, became a living example to his son Shivaji teaching him how the weak could wear out the strong".[3]

The Bijapur State provided Shahji with plenty of opportunities to carve out a new kingdom, so that in Maharashtra

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1. Shivaji Souvenir, pp.115-6; Jedhe Karina in Shiva Charitre Pradip, P.39; Sardesai: N.H.M. Vol.I, P.64; J.N.Sarkar: History of Aurangzeb, Vol.I, Ch.III; Padshah-namah as referred to by J.N.Sarkar in House of Shivaji, P.44; J.N.Sarkar: Shivaji and His Times, Chap. II, P.20; B.L.Rice: Mysore Gazetteer, Vol.II, pp.23-24.
2. Sardesai: N.H.M. Vol.I, P.64.
3. Ibid, P.65.

he could count himself a Sardar of a fairly high rank. The territories lying to the South of the two Muslim kingdoms opened out vistas for fulfilling his long cherished goal and Shahji missed no time in taking the tide at the full flood.

Karnataka under the later Vijayanagar dynasty: After the epoch-making battle of Rakkasa Tangadi in 1565 which ended in the complete victory for the Muhammadan coalition, Vijayanagara was not able to serve the great historic purpose for which it fought. Tirumala and Venkata escaped from the battle field and tried to re-establish the authority of the empire.

Tirumala found it difficult to stay in the capital as it was exposed to the frequent incursions of the Muslims. Consequently he shifted his capital from the front line at Vijayanagara to the second at Penukonda.[1] The transference of the capital was pregnant with consequences fatal to the unity of South India.

Further Tirumala partitioned the empire among his three sons on the eve of his death, according to which Sriranga the eldest son was to rule from Penukonda, the whole of Telugu nadu; Ramaraja was to look after the Karnataka region taking up

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1. Tirumalārya: Chikkadēvarāyavamśāvali, P.2, a Kannada work (published in 1919, Mysore). The author was a play-mate and companion at school of Chikkadevaraja and ultimately became his prime minister. Therefore it is a contemporary work.(Hereafter it will be quoted as C.Vam). The same work is followed by Dr.S.K.Aiyangar as the main source of information - see Ancient India, P.273, Sources of Vijayangara History.

his residence at Srirangapatna and Venkatapati Raya was to rule over the largest kingdoms of Tondai mandala, Chola and Pandya regions making Chandragiri his capital.[1]

After the division of the empire Tirumala breathed his last. The division of the empire among three sons weakened the position of the empire.

Sriranga Raya died in 1586 leaving no children. Rama Raya who was the Viceroy of Srirangapatna also died leaving two minor sons, Tirumala and Sriranga.[2] Consequently the entire responsibility of governing the empire devolved upon Venkatapati Raya (1586-1614) who ruled from Penukonda.[3] Tirumala, the nephew of Venkatapati Raya was too young to shoulder the responsibility of the Karnatak region. Therefore the administration of the

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1. C.Vam, P.2: Tanna mūvarkuvararōlu modaliganāda Śrīranga rājanam penugondeyolittātange telunge nādodetanavam, Yeradanaya Rāmarāyanam Śrirangapatnadolirisi yavange Karnātadēshadhipathyamam, mūraneya Venkatapatirāyanam Chandragiriyolittu ātange Tondīra, Chōla Pāndya mandalēswarathva manitham.

2. C.Vam, P.2; Rama Rajiyamu, P.213 in "Sources of Vijayanagara History" by Dr.S.K.Aiyangar says that Rama married Narasingamma and had by her 2 sons Tirumala and Sriranga, of these Sriranga was adopted by the Emperor Venaktapati Raya and became the heir-apparent (Yuvaraja).

3. Dr.S.K.Aiyangar: Sources of Vijayanagara History, P.19 says that Venkatapati Raya shifted his capital from Penukonda to Chandragiri; but C.Vam, P.2, specifically says that the capital was Penukonda.

Karnatak region was left in the hands of Remati Venkataiya, the agent of Tirumala. The two minor sons Tirumala and Sriranga went to stay in the company of their uncle Venkatapati at Penukonda.[1]

In or about 1585[2] Tirumala took up the charge of the administration of Srirangapatna Viceroyalty and stayed there till 1610 A.D. during the reign of Sriranga Raya II and Venkatapati Raya. Epigraphic records found in Mysore, state that Tirumala was guided by Dalavoy Ramanujaiya, the successor of Remati Venkata in the administration of the Viceroyalty.[3]

The premonitory symptom of the coming disruption seems to have raised its head when the Madura Nayak made an effort at independence. Displeased with the attitude of the Madura Nayak, Venkatapati Raya commissioned his nephew, Tirumala to bring down the refractory chieftain, Virappa Nayaka. The latter who was clever enough to sense the situation bribed several generals of the Mysore army; and Tirumala was one of those who accepted the bribe. By receiving the bribe, Tirumala had not only lost the hard won reputation, but individuality within a few years as well. Instead of conducting the siege, Tirumala

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1. C.Vam.P.2; Prof.Heras: The Aravidu dynasty of Vijayanagara, P.291; Rama Rajiyamu in the Sources of Vijayanagara, P.213; Indian Antiquary Vol.XIII, P.126; Dr.S.K.Aiyangar: Quarterly Journal of Mythic Society, Vol. XIII, 1923, P.626.
2. The first inscriptions of Tirumala belong to the year 1585 vide (E.C.III, Sr.39-40). According to these inscriptions, Tirumala succeeded to the Viceroyalty in the year 1585.
3. E.C.IV, Gu 40, 44, Hs. 36.

returned with his army, not to the Imperial headquarters to reveal his uncle all that happened in the arduous campaign but to his own Viceroyalty at Srirangapatna.[1] Venkatapati Raya, who was keeping watch on the shifting of political scene at Madura, lost no time in asserting his authority over Madura.[2]

The disgraceful retreat of Tirumala to Srirangapatna had not only lowered the prestige of his uncle but also showed "to the onlookers the hollowness of the empire".[3] The lack of closer cooperation and mutual goodwill between the uncle - Emperor and nephew Viceroy was the main reason for the dissolution of Vijayanagara Viceroyalty at Srirangapatna.

Venakatapati contrived to keep the empire intact without causing much damage to it. There is sufficient evidence to prove that with the closer-cooperation and loyalty of the chieftains such as Rana Jagadeva Rayal, the Viceroy of Channapatna and the Baramahals and Raghunatha Nayaka, the heir-apparent to Tanjore, Venkatapati successfully repelled the siege in Penukonda. The empire suffered dismemberment, however, with the rise of several Hindu chieftains of the South, such as the Nayaks of Madura, Gingee and Tanjore and the kings of Mysore. The newly risen-up Mysore put an end to the Vijayanagara Viceroyalty of Srirangapatna and

1. C.Vam, P.3.
2. Nayaks of Madura, Introduction by S.K.Aiyangar, P.17.
3. Chikkadeva Raya Vijayam II Canto: Dr.S.K.Aiyangar, Ancient India, P.274.

made the latter its prominent city of activities. Beyond these and the successful aggressions of Golkonda rulers in the north-eastern corner of the territory, the empire remained intact.

Venkatapati II passed away in 1614 A.D. and Sriranga, his young nephew was declared the Emperor in accordance with the wishes of the late Emperor. Unfortunately for the empire there was another claimant who was brought up by one of the queens of the late Emperor belonging to the family of Gobburi chiefs. The Gobburi chief Jagga who took up the cause of the traitor found an opportunity to murder Sriranga and his children. One of the princes escaped death owing to the loyalty of a washerman, Yachama Nayaka who carried him safely to Tanjore for protection. The Nayak of Madura, the Nayak of Gingee, the Pandyas of Tinnevelly, the Portuguese and even distant Travancore supported the cause of the traitor. A great battle was fought at Topur two miles above the Grand Annicut on the Coleroon where the confederated enemies were defeated on behalf of Rama the prince. Mysore did not take any part in this warfare and so did Channapatna. The newly founded family of Mysore feared the possibility of imminent Muhammadan attacks on its own northern frontiers. On the whole the disloyal forces had contributed to the break up the empire. The confusing situation which prevailed in the South made the opportunists and ambitious conquerors of the broken Bahamani states, peep and extend their arms into the South.

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1. Shivaji Nibhandavali, pp.34-36; Nayaks of Madura, pp.18-20, (Introduction); Sardesai's Commemoration Volume, pp.73-74.

There were two streams of invasion: one from the east and the other from the west. Between these two streams, the South Indian powers were hemmed in. Mir Jumla, a well known minister of Golkonda projected his scheme of conquest and took into his possession Kalahasti and Conjeevaram in the neighbourhood of Madras.

Taking advantage of the insane pride, blind-selfishness, disloyalty and mutual dissensions of the Hindu feudatories of the South, the Muslim adventurers knocked at the gate, nay, opened the gate and conquered the Hindu Deccan piecemeal with greatest ease and rapidity. Proenza rightly says:

> "The old kings of this country appear, by their jealousies and imprudent action, to invite the conquest of their entire country by the Muslims".[1]

To understand what brought in this Bijapur intervention only to the south requires a retrospective study of partition treaty entered into between the Moghals on the one side and Bijapur and Golkonda on the other. The partition treaties of May-June 1636 concluded, set a great barrier to the ambition of the Sultans of Bijapur and Golkonda to extend their arms into the north. On the other hand, the boundary limitation allowed

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1. La Mission Du Madure III. 42 - in Nayaks of Madura, pp.263-264.

them to carry their arms in the southern and eastern directions, that is, across the Krishna and Tungabhadra, into Mysore and Karnataka. It was only after the conclusion of this treaty that Shahji went over to the side of Bijapur Sultan with whom he spent the latter days of his life.[1] A little later, after the conclusion of the treaty Shahji was commissioned to lead an expedition into the Mysore Kingdom.

<u>Mysore in the 17th century</u>: To understand how Bijapur stepped on the soil of Mysore, it requires a slight retrospect of its history. Mysore came to prominence with the emergence of Rāja Wodeyar (1578-1617). It was he who laid the foundation for the edifice of the present Mysore Royal House. He converted a modest chieftainship[2] into the rank of a kingdom. His period is synchonised with the rule of Venkaṭapati of Vijayanagara (1586-1614) and the period of Tirumala's office as Viceroy at Srirangapatna (1585-1610).[3] The relationship between Raja Wodeyar and Tirumala was not cordial. Rāja Wodeyar purposely evaded the payment of tribute due to the viceroy. He expelled the collectors of the viceroy when they went to demand him the tribute.[4]

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1. For the detailed terms of the treaty refer to Muhammad namah in Shivaji Nibhandavali, Part II, pp.90-96.
2. Mys.Dho.Vam. pp.6-7 says that at the time of Rajawodeyar's accession to the throne, there were only 33 villages having a revenue of 3000 varahas and a military force of 300 soldiers.
3. The first two inscriptions of Tirumala belong to the year 1585 (vide E.C. III, Sr.39,40) which clearly reveal to us the accession of Tirumala to Srirangapatna viceroyalty.)
4. Mysore Dhoregala Purvottara I, pp.3-4.

The most remarkable and far reaching event in the time of Rājawodeyar was the ousting of Tirumala who returned to the capital in 1595 from Madura. With the incorporation of Srirangapatna, Mysore came to prominence. Tirumala was not reconciled to the growing power of Rajawodeyar. Therefore he decided to seize Rajawodeyar in person at the time of latter's visit to Srirangapattana court. In the event of the failure of his plan, Tirumala decided to lead an expedition against his kingdom.[1] Being innocent of any such treachery, Rajawodeyar paid a visit to Srirangapatna along with his brother. There Rajawodeyar was able to scent the coup de etat planned by the viceroy to destroy the two brothers. Consequently the two brothers slipped away from the capital unnoticed and unperceived by the enemies.[2] This brought about the battle of Kesare on August 18, 1596 in which Tirumala's army was utterly defeated and put to flight.[3]

Between 1598-1607 Rajawodeyar had systematically defied the authority of Tirumala encroaching upon the territorial limits in the north and the east. In 1600 Rajawodeyar conquered Arakere from Adataraya, a foremost general of Jagadeva Raya.[4]

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1. C.Vam. P.21. For a detailed description of the plan and the number of persons who helped Tirumala in his endeavour see K.N.V., III; C.Vam, p.22.
2. C.Vam, P.36.
3. Chikkadevaraya Vijayam, Chap II, Verses 50, 51, 53; C.Vam, pp.39-40. As regards the date Wilks does not say anything though he gives the description of the battle of Kesare. C.Vam clearly explains the gap of 20 years between the attack of Kesare and the last year of Rajawodeyar. The last year of Rajawodeyar is 1616 as his death occurs in 1617. Deducting 20 from 1616 we arrive at 1596, the date of the siege of Kesare.
4. Mys.Dho.Pur. I, P.75; Annals, I. P.43; C.Vam. pp.8-9; Wilks,I. P.28.

In August 1606 he took Sosale[1] and in January 1607 he acquired Bannur[2] from Nanjaraja of Talkad. In 1608 Rajawodeyar had to face a formidable confederacy of the chiefs of Belur, Grama, Mugur, Yelandur and Ummattur at Kunigal. Raja Wodeyar marched at the head of a huge force, met the combined army and utterly defeated them.[3]

Having failed in his ambition to check the aggressions of Raja Wodeyar, Tirumala, the unfortunate viceroy, appealed to his uncle-Emperor, Venkatapati for military aid to put down the enterprising chieftain, Raja Wodeyar. The Emperor did not respond, for it was his interest to disgrace Tirumala before his subjects, showing him as incapable of defending Srirangapatna against his opponent, Raja Wodeyar.[4] Venkatapati was with complacency, looking forward for the days of Tirumala's overthrow and downfall. It is said[5] that Venkatapati had even sent him an order promising him assurance of protection and probably admonishing him to retire from his charge of the viceroyalty. It was this lack of closer cooperation and mutual goodwill between the uncle-emperor and the nephew-viceroy that paved the way for Srirangapatna slipping out of the hands of Tirumala to a enterprising chieftain namely Raja Wodeyar.

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1. Ibid, C.Va, pp.9-10.
2. Ibid, I, 39-42; Mys.Dho.Vam, pp.10-11; Wilks, I, P.28.
3. Mys. Raj.Cha., pp.18-19; Annals, I. pp.22 and 44; K.N.V.III.51.
4. Heras: Venkatapatiraya I and the Portuguese, Quarterly Journal of Mythic Society, Vol.XIV, P.314 (Hereafter the name of the Journal will be quoted as Q.J.M.S.).
5. Mys.Dho.Pur., I. 54-55; Wilks, I. 51-52.

Raja Wodeyar understood the distressing poosition of Tirumala. Being the cleverest, most farsighted and ambitious man, Raja Wodeyar had determined to strike at the falling fortunes of the declining viceroyalty.

Acquisition of Srirangapatna: The acquisition of Srirangapatna by Raja Wodeyar is related in different sources[1] with a diversity of statements; but a manuscript entitled 'Srirangapatna Charitre'[2] found in the Oriental Library, Mysore is the best authentic source on this particular point. According to this authority Raja Wodeyar summoned the two vaishnava Brahmins who were the chief advisers of Tirumala, from the court of Srirangapatna; and by bribing them heavily, he intrigued to secure Srirangapatna defenceless. By the help of these two Brahmins, Raja Wodeyar was successful in getting the removal of the viceroy's wife named Mangamma from the capital to T.Narasipura. Along with her went the whole army of the viceroy. Taking advantage of the helplessness of the viceroy, Raja Wodeyar despatched one detachment of his main force to attack Srirangapatna and the rest of the army was detached to T.Narasipur. The first division went and encamped at Kalasavadi; and the second force went to T.Narasipur and communicated a false message of the death of Mangamma to the viceroy at Srirangapatna through one of

1. See Appendix I.
2. While I was searching for Kannada sources in the Oriental Library, Mysore, I was able to secure this manuscript bearing No.K.B.25. This is a contemporary Kannada manuscript throwing fresh light on how Raja Wodeyar acquired Srirangapatna. This works refers to the Viceroy of Srirangapatna as Sriranga Raya for Tirumala.

the nearest and dearest frineds of the viceroy. The whole plot resulted in the death of viceroy. Thereafter Raja Wodeyar made a triumphal entry into the capital. Not a drop of blood was shed. Therefore it may be called a "Bloodless Succession of 1610". That the acquisition of Srirangapatna by Raja Wodeyar is an act of conquest as has been assumed by several scholars[1] on Mysore history, finds a complete refutation in the "Srirangapatna charitre" which categorically asserts that "Raja Wodeyar did not conquer Srirangapatna by war".[2] From this it is clear that Raja Wodeyar conquered the viceregal seat by treachery.

Rāja Wodeyar made a grand entry and took possession of Srirangapatna[3] on February 8th 1610 A.D.[4] Thenceforward it became the capital of the Mysore Kingdom. It continued to be so till 1799 when, after the death of Tippu, the British retained the island in their own possession as a reminder of the conquest. The acquisition of Srirangapatna was confirmed by a charter[5] issued by the Emperor Venkatapati Raya just at a time when his position was seriously shaken by a vigorous Golkonda attack. That Raja Wodeyar was on good terms with the Emperor is proved by several inscriptions,[6] of the Mysore State. In all these inscriptions Raja Wodeyar refers

1. C.Hayavadana Rao: History of Mysore, Vol.I. P.60; N.Subba Rao: The Half Yearly Journal of the Mysore University Vol.IV, July 1930. pp.245-258.
2. Mysoru doregalu Srirangapattanavannu yuddha madi jayisalilla.
3. C.Vam., pp.48-49; K.N.V., III, 95-96; Mys.Raj.Cha., 19; Annals, I. 29-30; Divyasuri charite, 12 verse 72; Kamandaka niti, I, 54; Paschimaranga Mahatmya I, 34; Hastigiri Mahatmya,I, 52; Venkatagiri Mahatmya I. 39; Munivamsabhyudaya, II, 17; and Inscriptions E.C., Bangalore Dist.Suppl.Vol., Bn.144, II.9-10; III (1) Sr.14, II.17-18; Mys.Dist.suppl., Mys.115, II.29-30.

(contd. on the next page)

to his overlord, a sure sign of his loyalty towards him. Since 1612 Rajawodeyar began to rule as an independent king though signs of acknowledgement of nominal control of the imperial power were there. The charge of Srirangapatna viceroyalty composed of two governments, probably three: (1) Srirangapatna proper; (2) the territories with its headquarters at Channapatna which was under the control of Governor Jagadeva Raya who enlarged the petty viceroyalty by incorporating Baramahal Districts of Salem; - (3) territories lying in between Ikkeri or Bednur and Srirangapatna ruled over by enterprising chieftains. Rajawodeyar's power was acknowledged only in Srirangapatna not in other territories. Though Rajawodeyar was an enterprising king, he was not able to incorporate to his kingdom the other territories. It was left to his successor to accomplish this.

<u>Chāmarāja Wodeyar 1617-1637</u>: Chāmarāja Wodeyar (1617-1637) succeeded to the throne of Mysore on July 3rd 1617,[1] 12 days after the death of Rajawodeyar. Under Chamaraja Wodeyar, Mysore came into bitter conflict with Channapatna viceroyalty. Being actuated by the impulses of conquering Chikkanayakanahalli.[2] Jagadeva Raya,

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(from previous page)
all these works refer to the acquisition of Srirangapatna, by Raja Wodeyar; but true historical fact connected with Tirumala's death is not related.

4. Annals, I. 29 and 45; Mys.Raj.Cha., 19; Mys.Dho.Pur., I.75.
5. E.C., III. TN 62.
6. E.C., III. Inn of 1614 and grant of 1615.

1. Mys.Dho.Pur., I. 43: Sobhakrit, vaisakha ba 6; Annals, I.49: Prabhava Ashada ba 6(July 15, 1606). The earlier authority is preferred here.
2. Annals, I. 52-53; Mys.Dho.Vam., pp.21-22; C.Vam., P.34 and C.Vij., II. 73-75.

Viceroy of Channapatna appealed to Chamaraja for help which was vehemently refused. Apart from this refusal, Chamaraja ordered his Dalvoy,[1] Bettada Arasu to subdue Nagamangala which was a part and parcel of Channapatna Viceroyalty. Accordingly in 1618 Bettada Arasu laid siege to Nagamangala by killing Doddaiya, elder brother Channaiya of Nagamangala at Honnemadu on the way. But the siege was raised by the army of Jagadeva Raya and Bettada Arasu returned home. It was this Nagamangala of Channaiya who played a significant role in inviting the arms of the Bijapur sultan into the South. Channaiya of Nagamangala and another un-patriotic individual namely Puvala Hanuma were the two outstanding personalities who acted as intermediaries in bringing out the connection between Mysore and Maharashtra the details of which will be given later.

War with Channapatna was kept under suspense for a while as the affairs in southern most limit of the Mysore Kingdom drew the immediate attention of Chamaraja. Mallarajaiya[2] one of the relations of Bettada Arasu was commissioned to lead the army against Danamayakanakote which formed the bone of contention between Madura and Mysore. When an attack was delivered on Danaykana kote by the Mysore Dalvoy, Muttuvirappa Nayaka of Madura who was supporting the palegar of the said Kote had concluded a treaty through the mediation of his agent, Chikkappasetty. With the

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1. Chief of the army.
2. Mys. Dho.Vam., P.22; Annals, I. 53-54.

Dalavoy, insisting on the palegar to pay an annual tribute of 12,000 varahas to Mysore.

From 1621 acquisitions of Channapatna viceroyalty piece by piece started in right earnest. In October 1621 Talkad was conquered.[1] In May 1623 Malavalli was taken repulsing[2] the army of Jagadevaraya. In May 1624 Siudhugatta and Bukanakere were taken from Jagadevaraya.[3] In January 1626 Channapatna was attacked and in the midst of the struggle Dalavai Linganna who succeeded Bettada ARASU in 1621 was killed by Channaiya of Nagamangala.[4]

Again in 1630 war was renewed against Jagadeva Raya of Channapatna. Vikarama Raya, the newly appointed commander-in-chief of the Mysore army was ordered to lay siege to Channapatna. Accordingly in October 1630 Vikramaraya fought a sanguinary battle in the neighbourhood of Channapatna and was brilliantly successful in incorporating Channapatna into the kingdom of Mysore.[5] Kanakanahalli and Nagamangala, the two powerful palayapats were crushed and finally annexed to the kingdom of Mysore (Dec, 1630).[6] In March 1631 Bellur, another dependency of Jagadevaraya was taken possession of[7]; Baramahals which were under the control of

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1. Mys.Dho.Pur., II. 3; Mys.Dho.Vam, I. C.Vam.34.C.Vij., II.64-65.
2. Mys. Dho. Vam., P.24; Annals, I. 51.
3. Annals, I. Ch. Mys. Dho. Pur., I.C.
4. Ibid, I. P. 57; Mys. Dho. Vam., P.24.
5. Annals, I. P.51; C.Vam., 34; Mys.Dho.Pur., II. 7.
6. Ibid, P.51 and 59; Ibid, I.C; C.Vij., II. 77; Mys.Dho.Vam., pp.25-26.
7. C.Vam., I.C; .C.Vij., II. 78-82; Mys. Dho.Vam., P.26.

Jagadevaraya did not come under the rule of Mysore.

Having accomplished the conquest of Channapatna, Chamaraja turned his attention towards Ikkeri, lying to the north-west of the kingdom of Mysore. But Ikkeri was able to defend herself[1] so long as the northern frontier was safe.

Towards the end of his rule, Mysore extended its territory as far as Channapatna and Nagamangala on the north; Piriyapatna and Channarayapatna in the west and north-west; Malavalli and Dananayakana Kote in the east and south-east.

It is evident that Chamaraja preserved dharma in carrying on the administration according to the lines laid down by his grand father. He died without issue on May 2, 1637[2] and was succeeded by his boy-uncle Immadi Raja Wodeyar. Dalavoy Vikrama Raya lorded it over the new ruler, whom he found to be not the nominal one that he would have him, and so he had poisioned in the year 1638.[3]

Now Rāja Wodeyar's line failed of male issue. Naturally people looked up to the children of his next younger brother Bettada Chama Raja. Bettada Chama Raja had two sons. Timma Rāja Wodeyar, by Lingajamma of Bagali and Kanthīrava Narasa Rāja Wodeyar by Guruvajamma (Guruvamba) of Hura.[4] Timma Raja Wodeyar, the first son of Bettada Chamaraja Wodeyar had, however, it would seem, predeceased

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1. For details of bitter hostility between Mysore and Ikkeri see proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission, Vol.XI, P.112.
2. Annals, I. 62; Mys.Dho.Pur., I. 44 and 45; Wilks, Vol.I.P.55.
3. Wilks, I. P.57.
4. Annals, I, pp.17-18.

his father, so that the next immediate claimant in the line of Bettada Chamaraja was his second son, Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar. The Annals make Kanthirava Narasa the adopted son of Raja Wodeyar.[1]

A new era ushered in with the commencement of the rule of Kanthirava Narasa Raja. What the previous rulers failed to accomplish, he had completed.

Kanthīrava Narasa Rāja Wodeyar 1638-1659.

Kanthirava Narasaraja came to the throne of Mysore on November 22, 1638[2] and ruled for 21 years. At the time of his accession, the whole power of the administration seems to have been concentrated in the hands of a powerful Dalvoy named Vikrama Raya. The first act of his reign was the dismissal of the Dalavoy from service and infliction of severe punishment for his treason against the late ruler, Immadi Raja Wodeyar. One tradition[3] maintains that the Dalvay was severely punished; but Wilks[4] says that he was despatched by the hand of the assasin. Against these two traditions, we have got an epigraphic record which proves that Vikrama Raya was alive as far as 1644. A lithic record on a pedastal in front of the monolithic bull (Dodda Basava) in the Nanjundesvara temple of Nanjangud dated January 11, 1644 says that Dalavoy Vikrama Raya set

1. Annals, I. P.65.
2. Mys.Dho.Pur. I. 51: Bahudanya Kartika ba 12, Thursday (Nov.22, 1638); Annals, I. 65: Bahudanya Kartika suddha 2(Oct.28, 1638). The Annals (I.C.) speaks also of the adoption of Kanthirava by Timmajamma, the junior dowager queen of Raja Wodeyar and his installation at Srirangapatna on one and the same day. See S.K. Iyyangar, Ancient India (P.289) having the same view; Raja Kathavali by Deva Chandra (XII,470) fixes Kanthirava's accession in May 1635 which is apparently an error. The former authority is preferred here
3. Annals, I. pp.67-68.
4. Wilks History, Vol. I, pp.58-59.

up the pedestal thereto as a devotional offering.[1] From this account it is clear that Vikrama Raya was alive upto January 1644. Therefore Vikramaraya was neither punished nor slain but was dismissed from service and allowed to retire to some part of Mysore. Kanthirava was armed with all the qualifications necessary for the king, He knew horse-riding, elephant-riding, archery and the use of various kinds of weapons such as Spear, lance, dagger, club, sword and discus.[2]

While the prince was living at Gundlu Terakanambi[3] along with his father Bettada Chamaraja Wodeyar, he had to put his hand into a thrilling adventure, the success of which spread his name far and wide as a strong and courageous personality. It was no other than the defeat of a remarkable prize-fighter at Trichinopoly. The prince, having heard from a Brahmin that there was a powerful wrestler at Trichinopoly, went there incognito, and returned after killing the wrestler much to the bewilderment of the spectators that gathered there. The prince did not wait there to receive honours from the chief of Trichinopoly. Thus the prince had distinguished himself as a champion wrestler[4] very early.

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1. E.C., III (1) Nj.9.
2. K.N.V., IV, Vs. 84, 86.
3. Annals, I. P.66.
4. Ibid, I. pp.66-67 and compare Wilks I, pp.57-58.

Armed with all the qualifications, Kanthīrava ascended the throne on November 22, 1638. In the very first year of his accession he had to defend the capital of his dominions against the formidable invasion of the forces of the Muslim sovereign of Bijapur under a reputed general, R.D.Khan.

Chapter III

Relations between Mysore and Bijapur: Rise of Shahji in Mysore.

Importance of the 17th century: The commencement of the 17th century witnessed tremendous changes on the political horizon of India in general and of Mysore in particular. It was a period of great personalities and unforgettable events. Great political leaders, unconquerable heroes, empire-builders and sagacious statesmen emerged on the political ~~(scene)~~ scene with abiding historic purpose to achieve; they played their role most amazingly, shaped the destiny of the kingdoms over which they ruled and left the scene with indelible impression on the minds of their generation and the generation to come.

Political condition: The Moghal Empire which had been striving hard to set its foot on the soil of the South ever-since the reign of Akbar was, by the beginning of the 17th century, successful in securing a foot-hold; and the newly conquered provinces of the South went under the designation of "the Deccan." The two Shahi kingdoms namely Bijapur and Golkonda remained, however, unconquered. The* kingdom of Ahmadnagar passed out of existence in 1633 A.D. and just three years later, the wars for the dismemberment of the Ahmadnagar spoils between the Moghals on the one side and the Sultans of Bijapur and the Marathas on the other, came to an end by the definitive treaty entered into between the parties arranged for by the

Emperor Shah Jahan. As a result of this treaty, the ambitious designs on the part of the Sultans of Bijapur and Golkonda to project their schemes of conquests further northwards were definitely checked; and on the contrary they were set free to extend their arms into the South. The European nations, almost simultaneously, were becoming prosperous in their commercial enterprise, while the Vijayanagara Empire under Venkata II was setting its foot on the brink of dissolution due to the weakness of the central control and the disloyalty of the subordinate viceroys.

The 17th century also saw the pricipitation of the collision between Mysore and Maharashtra on the soil of the former. For the first time in 1639 Kanthirava Narasaraja of Mysore and Shahji of Maharashtra stood face to face on the Karnataka territories. It also witnessed the emergence of the Maratha kingdom in Mysore with Bangalore as its capital.

Tirumala Nayaka of Madura was declaring independence; Virabhadra Nayaka of Bednur was carrying fire and arms into the territories of the neighbouring palegars; Immadi Kempe Gowda of Bangalore was administering his kingdom most efficiently putting a check to all the territorial designs of the surrounding chieftains.

Having in our mind the political condition of India in general and of Mysore in particular as a background, we shall now proceed how the stream of Muslim invasion that penetrated the South brought Shahji into Mysore.

The method of Muslim invasion: The Muslims adopted a special method in their expeditions of Southern India. Usually they started their expeditions every year in autumn from their capitals to the nearest Hindu States across the frontier. As there was no closer cooperation and mutual goodwill among these Hindu states, they were easily subdued, paradoxically with the military aid of the neighbouring Hindu chieftains and the "victors returned to their capitals before the commencement of the rainy season, laden with the plunder of the forts and the promise of tribute".[1]

Ruinous policy of the Hindu Rajas: Unfortunately South India was not able to present a strong bulwark against this advancing tide of the Muslim invasion. Vijayanagara Empire had passed out of the scene as a strong military power in the South. Taking advantage of the slackening of the central control, several subordinate Hindu chieftains of the Empire tried to assert their independence. They began to work for their selfish ends forgetting the supreme needs of the hour. That passion for absolute local autonomy and unwillingness to evolve a common federation for the greater end of national self-preservation was ever present in South India.

The insane personal rivalries and territorial aggrandisement of the vassals did not end in the declaration of independence alone; on the other hand they went to the extent of inviting the

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1. Sarkar: House of Shivaji, P.48.

support of the Muslim sovereigns of Bijapur and Golkonda alternately to put down his rebellious neighbour "dreaming that the latter would march back after overthrowing their former Hindu overlord."[1]

It was this ruinous and short-sighted policy that was mainly responsible for the intervention of the Muslim States in the affairs of the South.

Causes of the invasion of Ikkeri: This was what exactly happened in the Karnataka. Hanumappa Nayaka,[2] a Hindu chief of Basavapatna was not on good terms with Virabhadra Nayaka of Ikkeri. Govinda Vaidya[3] says that Hanumappa Nayaka was hostile because the boundary dispute was not settled to the full satisfaction of either parties. Realising that he was not strong enough militarily to crush Virabhadra Nayaka, Hanumappa Nayaka went in person to Bijapur to solicit the aid of the Sultan.[4]

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1. Sarkar: House of Shivaji, P.52.
2. He is referred to in K.N.V. as Kengēndra; in persian sources as Kenge Nāyaka; in Annals as Hanumappa Nayaka.
3. K.N.V. Chapter XI, Verse 1.
4. Ibid Verse 2; Shivaji Nibhandavali Part II, P.40, Annals I. P.72 and K.N.V. XI, V.2 say that Hanumappa Nayaka sent his minister Venkatapati Deo to the Bijapur court with presents of 30,000 varahas and costly Jewels desiring him to bring the padshah to crush Virabhadra.

According to Linganna Kavi,[1] Venkatappa, the chief of Tarikere apparantly another recalitrant feudatory of the ruler of Ikkeri seems to have had a hand in the venture of the Sultan's Karnatak expedition. In the present state of our knowledge, it is rather hard to find out the political relations of the chieftain of Tarikere to the Sultan of Bijapur.

Muhammad Adil Shah (1626-1656 A.D.)[2] of Bijapur began to fish in the troubled sea of Karnatak politics. What should have been the aim of the Sultan in launching forth the Karnatak expedition? Muhammad Namah gives the answer in the following way:

> "As the countries of Karnatak and Malnad were not conquered before by any Muhammadan King of the Deccan, Muhammad Adil Shah thought of bringing them under his sway in order to strengthen and glorify the Islamic religion in the dominion of the Hindus."[3]

Subsequent activities of the Muslims in the Karnatak definitely indicate that the Sultan's motive in undertaking the expedition was to squeeze the Karnatak of its accumulated wealth.

The open invitation offered by Hanumappa Nayaka of

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1. Ke. N.V. P.97.
2. Sewell: A Forgotten Empire: Appendix C, P.408.
3. English translation of Muhammad Namah in Shivaji Nibhandavali, P.96.

Basavapatna and other recalitrant feaudatories, the innate desire on the part of the Sultan to propogate his religion in the dominions of the Hindus, ambition to plunder the accumulated wealth of the Karnataka and last but not the least the definitive treaty dictated by Shahjahan to Bijapur were some of the important contributory causes in inducing the Sultan to undertake the Karnatak expedition.

Muhammad Namah says that "Ranadaula Khan, son of Farhad Khan, was honoured with the title of Rustam-e-Zaman and was made the commander-in-chief of the army and was sent to punish Virabhadra."[1]

Shahji took part in the invasion: At the head of 40,000 troops,[2] Ranadulla Khan set out to conquer the Karnatak. Malik Rehan was the joint commander. Shahji[3] also took a leading part in this campaign. This formidable Bijapur army was further reinforced by the levies of Hanumappa Nayaka. When the whole army reached the boundary of Malnad, Hanumappa Nayaka interviewed

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1. Shivaji Nibhandavali, pp.96-97; Keladi Nripa Vijaya appears to distinguish Ranadulla Khan from Rustam-i-Zaman. There is no such distinction. The Bhumalapura copper plate grant (1676 A.D.) of Ranadulla Khan (vide Mysore Archaeological Report 1922, pp.122-123) refers to him as Ranadulla Khan Khan-e-Azam and further we have got Muhammad Namah which says that Rustam-e-Zaman is the title of Ranadulla Khan. Therefore both refer to the same. Wilks (Vol.I, p.31) calls him "Rend Dhoola Khan, Muhammad Namah calls him "Randaula Khan." Hereafter I will call him Ranadulla Khan.
2. Rise of Maratha power in the South as stated in Shivaji Nibhandavali, p.40.
3. Shivaji Nibhandavali p.96; House of Shivaji, pp.53-54; Sardesai: New Hástory of the Marathas Vol. I, p.71.

the commander-in-chief and said:

> "I will help you in conquering the whole country; but you should first invade the fort of Ikkeri. I will show you a path by which you can reach Ikkeri quickly and Virabhadra will not be able to get the scent of your arrival and you will gain an easy victory over him."[1]

Having Hanumappa Nayaka as the guide, Ranadulla Khan reached Ikkeri.[2]

Destruction of Ikkeri: Virabhadra Nayaka was horror-stricken at the sudden approach of the Bijapur army. In the battle that was fought on December 30th, 1637[3] Virabhadra found it difficult to resist the stupendous army, consequently he sought refuge in the neighbouring hill fortress called Bhuvanagiri durga also called Kauledurga.[4] The investing Muslim army took possession of the capital, broke the heads of the images of gods, plundered the town, polluted the sanctity of women and slaughtered cows.[5] Then the combined Bijapur-Basavapatna army laid siege to the fort of Bhuvanagiri where the king had taken refuge. Though he offered

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1. Shivaji Nibhandavali, P.97.
2. Ibid, P.97.
3. Ke.N.V. Ch.IV, P.98 mentions the date of the attack as S.1560 Isvara Pushya ba 10 (30th Dec.1637). The Muhammad Namah assigns 1030 A.H. (1630 A.D.). This is too early for the expedition. See Muhammad Namah in Shivaji Nibhandavali, P.96.
4. Muhammad Namah calls it Kasnauldurg. see Ke.N.V. P.98.
5. K.N.V., XI,6. See also Sardesai: New History of the Marathas Vol. I, P.71.

stubborn resistance to the Muslim army, at the end he sued for peace,[1] realising the futility of further resistance. According to the terms of the treaty, Virabhadra offered the Muslims 18 lakhs of huns along with half of his territory.[2]

Ranadulla returned to Bijapur with heavy booty[3] and presented them to the Sultan. Having rejoiced at the brilliantly successful campaign, the Sultan honoured Ranadulla Khan[4] heartily.

Sardesai in this connection says: "The poor peaceful citizens of a once prosperous kingdom either lost their lives or their homes. In order to preserve their honour Hindu women killed themselves by jumping into wells with their children. The whole territory similarly ravaged & subjugated. It was the first experience which the peaceful populace of the South had of the havoc-fire-arms could inflict."[5]

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1. Dr.Salatore in his article on, "General Ranadulla Khan's Ikkeri expedition" (proceedings of the I.H.R.C. XVI Dec.1939, P-51) says that Virabhadra took to diplomacy only with the object of ultimately defeating the Bijapuris. But the detailed study of the sources available on this period do not mention any where the ambition of Virabhadra to defeat the Bijapuris; on the contrary, we have got evidences to prove Virabhadra's desire to defeat chieftains *of Tarikere and Basavapatna who were responsible for the* disaster.

2. Muhammad Namah in Shivaji Nibhandavali II, P.97.

3. K.N.V., XI. 7.

4. Ibid. 8.

5. New History of Marathas, Vol.I. pp.71-72.

Ranadulla Khan's Invasion of Mysore

1638-1639:

Role of Shivaji.

Ranadulla Khan's invasion of Mysore forms an important chapter in the inter state relations of Mysore and Maharashtra. This advancing tide of the Muslim invasion had not only struck terror into the heart of Mysore but planted Maratha colonies and settlements on the northern borders of Mysore as well. Shahji the father of the Great Shivaji, who was sent second in command of the Bijapur army under the renowned general Ranadulla Khan to effect the conquest of Mysore, carved out a new Maharashtra Kingdom in Mysore and played a significant part in the changing politics of South India in general and Mysore in particular.

Causes: The main causes of the invasion may be traced to the lack of patriotism in our Hindu chieftains. Firstly there arose some misunderstanding between Kempe Gowda, the ruling chieftain of Bangalore and the chief of Sumuki Bagur. The latter chieftain, most unpatriotic that he was, unmindful of the consequences of his suicidal policy, went to the court of Bijapur and sought the military aid of the Sultan to crush his enemy.[1]

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1. S.K.Narasimiah: The founder of Bangalore, Chapter III. P.20; Quarterly Journal of Mythic Society, Vol.XIII, July 1923, P.752.

2) Secondly, according to Govinda Vaidya, it was the objective of the Sultan of Bijapur to exact tribute from Mysore and annex Srirangapatna to Bijapur.[1]

Thirdly Chennaiah, the chieftain of Nagamangala was deposed and disgraced by Chamaraja Wodeyar of Mysore. The former unable to bear the utter humiliation went to Bijapur and took up service under the Sultan as a Mansabdar of 200 horse. Gurikara Channaiah as he is often called told the Sultan:

> "Kanthirava Narasaraja, the present ruler of Mysore has incurred the displeasure of his subjects by assassinating a powerful Dulvoy, Vikrama Raya and conferring the office on Thimmappaiah. As the party feeling ran high in Srirangapatna, it is the opportune moment to effect its conquest."[2]

Therefore Channaiah of Nagamangala was the author of the scheme. Further he offered to render his service if an expedition was fitted out to Srirangapatna.

Fourthly it was the inordinate passion on the part of the Sultan to increase the prestige of his country by putting down the Hindus, dismantling the Hindu temples, breaking the images of gods and goddesses and carrying off the hidden

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1. K.N.V. XI, 67-70; XII, 92-93.
2. Annals, I. P.73.

treasures of the Hindus to Bijapur.[1]

Lastly the spoils of the war that was carried from Ikkeri to Bijapur in the recent Karnatak war tempted the Sultan. Pleased with Ranadulla Khan, the Sultan appointed him the supreme Commander-in-chief and sent him at the head of a vast army with instructions to attempt the immediate acquisition of Srirangapatna.[2] In this expedition Ranadulla Khan was expected to take the full guidance of Channaiah of Nagamangala who was supposed to have known every nook and corner of Mysore. Shahji was appointed second in command of the army. Having Shahji, Hanumappa Nayaka, Gurikara Channaiah as the chief advisers and guides, Ranadulla Khan set out with an army of 40,000 horses, 40 elephants and 1,00,000 foot.[3]

Ranadulla Khan crossed the river Tungabhadra and decided to deliver an attack on the fort of Tarpatri. Having scented the plan of R.D.Khan the neighbouring Rajas, conveyed a message secretly to Hanumappa Nayaka as follows:

> "If the fort of Tarpatri falls in the hands of the Muhammadans, the whole country will be easily over run by them. So you should make an effort to dissuade them from coming to this side."[4]

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1. Muhammad Namah and Basatin-us-Salatin as cited in Shivaji Nibhandavali, II, P.96; Sardesai: New History of the Marathas, Vol.I, P.71.
2. K.N.V. XI, V.8.
3. C.Vam, P.57.
4. Muhammad Namah in Shivaji Nibhandavali, II, P.98.

Accordingly Hanumappa Nayaka played a trick in preventing Ranadulla Khan from invading Tarpatri.

Alliance of R.D.Khan with local powers: The huge army encamped in the neighbourhood of Basavapatna after a tedious journey from the Tungabhadra. The army of Puvala Hanuma joined the Bijapur contingent.

Govinda Vaidya says:

> "Arriving in Basavapatna, Ranadulla Khan received reinforcements from Hanumappa Nayaka and started his journey southwards. On his way, the forces of the lords of Harapanahalli, Kanakagiri, Sondur, Rayadurg, Turugere(Turuvekere), Belur, Narasimhapura (Hole Narasipura) palupare, Hiriyur and Chikkanayakanahalli joined the army of Hanumappa Nayaka."[1]

Hanumappa's proposal: Before leaving the place, Hanumappa Nayaka interviewed the Commander-in-chief and told thus:

> "It would be proper to attack the fort of Bangalore where Kempe Gowda was reigning in pomp, pelf and pride." In return for his

service, Hanumappa Nayaka demanded the restoration of Sira for himself in the event of its conquest by the Bijapur army. R.D. Khan accepted the proposal hesitatingly and proceeded in the

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1. K.N.V. Chapter XI, Vs from 11 to 43. All these places are in Mysore State.

direction of Bangalore being guided by Channaiah, Hanumappa and Shahji.[1]

<u>Sira taken</u>: R.D.Khan sent his able general, Afzal Khan in advance to conquer the fort of Sira which lay enroute to Bangalore. Kasthuri Ranga, the chieftain of Sira was taken by utter surprise at the sudden approach of the huge Muslim army. Nevertheless Kasthuri Ranga fought heroically; but ultimately was defeated by the Muslim army. Receiving solemn promise on sacred oaths that his life should be spared, Kasthuri Ranga came to interview Afzal Khan, where the latter seized his person and murdered him in cold-blood. The wealth of the city was plundered and booty was carried off to the camp. Sira was given over to Hanumappa Nayaka according to the promise.[2] In the R.D.Khan's restoration of Sira to Hanumappa Nayaka, influence of Shahji was great.[3]

<u>Tumkur taken</u>: Highly elated at the success, R.D.Khan proceeded further. Disheartened by the plundering expedition of the Khan, the chieftain of Tumkur took flight from his capital and entered the dense forest nearby. R.D.Khan stormed the capital and carried away great riches from there.[4]

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1. Muhammad Namah in Shivaji Nibhandavali, II, P.98 (Here after it will be quoted as M.N. in Shiv.Nib); Sardesai: N.H.M., Vol.I. P.72.
2. M.N. as referred to by Sarkar in Modern Review, 1929, P.9; M.N. in Shiv.Nib. II, P.98; Sardesai: N.H.M. Vol.I, P.72; K.N.V. XI, V.43. The murder of Kasthuri Ranga must have left a deep impression on the mind of Shahji who was also in the Bijapur army. Having learnt the treachery of Afzal Khan, Shivaji, son of Shahji after 20 years entrapped Afzal Khan and murdered him in the celebrated interview of 1659.

(<u>for Foot-note 3 and 4 please see next page</u>)

Govinda Vaidya says that villages and towns fell into the hands of the enemy like house of cards. Fearing the cruel atrocities and brigandages of R.D.Khan, the inhabitants of Karanataka fled in different directions, some to dense jungles and others to Coorg and other hilly regions.[1]

The conquest of Bangalore: According to the instructions of Hanumappa Nayaka, R.D.Khan entered the Morasu kingdom.[2] The inhabitants were cowed down by the pillaging activities of the Muslims, promising protection to those that submitted to him, R.D.Khan led his army and soon encamped in the neighbourhood of Sivaganga, situated to north-west of Bangalore.

Immadi Kempe Gowda: Immadi Kempe Gowda was the prominent ruler of Bangalore. He ruled the kingdom most ably and dexterously for 55 years. He shone himself as the greatest builder of the day. Villages, towns and temples were constructed newly and administered most efficiently. A great conqueror that he was, Kempegowda went, saw and conquered Magadi and Savandurga in 1623. The territories round about Magadi were administered by a Vijayanagara Viceroy. Taking advantage of the slackening of the central authority, an opportunist named Talari Gangappa

(Foot-note No.3 and 4 refers to previous page)

3. C.S.Srinivasa Chari: A History of Gingee & its rulers, p.168; the same author in Sardesai's commemoration Vol, p.75.

4. K.N.V. XI, V.44. M.N.makes no mention of Tumkur in this expedition. According to it Tumkur was captured very late.

1. Ibid, XI, Vs. 45-55.

2. It refers to Bangalore district.

Nayaka made a sudden dash on the Vijayanagara Viceroy and usurped his province and title. Kempe Gowda collected a huge force, pounced upon the enemy and took possession of all the territories belonging to him. This famous exploit of Kempe Gowda spread his fame far and wide.[1]

The siege: On hearing the encampment of R.D.Khan, Kempe Gowda, a mighty conqueror that he was, collected his forces and determined to face the enemy. In the sanguinary action that followed for three days, the Muslims fought stubbornly, defeated the army of Kempe Gowda and entered the city with a view to capture all that was available there. However Kempe Gowda stood invincible. As he was the cleverest and the most tactful ruler, he caste his net, won Kenge Nayaka to his side and was prepared to fight the enemies. When this instruement of divide-and-rule policy was employed in the confusing war by Kempe Gowda, R.D.Khan began to tremble. As there was no other means except drawing Hanumappa to the Muslim camp, R.D. Khan went to Hanumappa's tent and won him to his side by holding out prospects of royal favours and booty.[2] Thereupon Hanumappa told Khan as follows:

> "It is not advisable to try to take this fort at this time because most of us are wounded and exhausted while the enemy is greater in number. I will negotiate with the Rajah and bring him out of the fort."[3]

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1. Q.J.M.S. Vol. XIII. July 1923, pp.729-731.
2. M.N. in Shiv. Nib, II. P.99.
3. Ibid.

It was exactly at this time that the notorious prince Sriranga Raya who revolted against the Emperor Venkatapati II of Vijayanagara came to render valuable military service to R.D.Khan against Kempe Gowda.[1] Supported and backed up by Sriranga Raya, and other generals, R.D. Khan declared war again and took easy possession of Bangalore, putting to flight Kempe Gowda.[2] Paramananda says: "The Rajah of Bingrool (Bangalore) was expert in the art of fighting and after a bold stand lasting for many days, he surrendered the fort of Bangalore."[3]

Shahji brought about a treaty: Shahji who acted as the great saviour of Hinduism intervened in the affairs of Bangalore and soon brought about a treaty between R.D.Khan and Kempe Gowda.[4] According to this treaty: (1) Kempe Gowda gave the fort of Bangalore with all the property contained therein; (2) Kempe Gowda gave his son as a hostage to the Khan; (3) R.D. Khan promised to offer protection to the chieftain; (4) Having obtained protection Kempe Gowda returned to Magadi; (5) Kempe Gowda agreed to pay annual contribution to Bijapur.[5]

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1. R.Satyanath Ayyar: Tamilkham in the 17th century, P.37
2. K.N.V., XI, Vs.58, 59, 60.
3. Shiva Bharata, 9, 43; Sardesai (N.H.M., Vol.I, P.72) says that while Afzal khan was occupied with Sira Shahji proceeded against Bangalore and captured that fort from its keeper Kempe Gowda. But a detailed study of the available sources reveal that the entire army proceeded against Bangalore and took possession of it.
4. C.S.Srinivasachari: A History of Gingee and its rulers P.168; Sardesai's Commemoration Volume, P.75.
5. M.N. in Shiv. Nib, II, P.99; K.N.V., XI, Vs.61; Q.J.M.S., Vol. XIII. July 1923, P.732.

Kempe Gowda resided in Magadi under the protection offered by Savandurg. He ruled there for 18 years more, paying the annual contribution to the conquerors of Bangalore. From that time onwards Kempe Gowda and his successors came to be familiarly known as "Magadi Kempe Gowda."[1]

Bangalore was conferred upon Shahji: *After the* conclusion of the Bangalore treaty, R.D.Khan felt the necessity of placing one of his generals in charge of the conquered city and the choice fell on Shahji. In accordance with the instructions of the padshah of Bijapur, the Khan conferred Bangalore on Shahji and marched on with his political programme.[2]

Ramagiridurga taken: Though Bangalore was conferred upon Shahji, the latter's presence in the Bijapur army for the conquest of other Karnatak kingdoms was found essential; therefore R.D.Khan placing Shahji in the forefront left Bangalore towards the middle of December 1638 and arrived at Ramagiri durga.[3] He took possession of it without encountering any opposition. Thereafter R.D.Khan proceeded in the direction of Kunigal sime.[4]

Several chieftains joined R.D.Khan: The chieftains of Ramagiridurga, Ballapura (Dodda Ballapura), Kolala (Kolar),

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1. Q.J.M.S., XIII, July 1923, P.732.
2. K.N.V., XI, V.66: Baḷikitta patsyāvuvinappaṇe yinda
   Taluvadeya Bangalōra
   Gaḷilane Sāhjige Koṭṭāga Khāna mum
   Deḷesida rājakāriyava.
3. K.N.V. XI, V.62.
4. Ibid, XI, V.62. Rāmagiridurga & Kuṇigal sīme are in Tumkur District.

Bijjavara, Chikkabalala pura (Chikkaballapura), Holavanahalli, Hosakote, Bavaluru, Hosuru, Masti, Devandapura (Devanahalli) and Siddalghatta (Sidlaghatta) all these joined the Bijapur army agreeing to deliver whatever they had possessed to R.D. Khan.[1]

Deliberations forthe conquest of Srirangapatna: Then R.D. Khan concentrated his attention on the conquest of Srirangapatna. As the conquest of the latter city was not an easy matter, R.D.Khan thought day in and day out about the means by which the ruler could be brought round. He thought thus: "If the capital city is seized and taken possession of, it will be very easy for us to annex gradually the other territories."[2]

R.D.Khan held a council of war in his tent and gave the Vazirs a true picture of the firm resolution and fortitute of Kanthirava as well as the loyalty of his generals of the army and the ministers of the state. Probably R.D.Khan gathered this information from Channaiah. He told his Vazirs as follows:

> "No opponent on the face of the earth can stand up in arms against the commanders of his (Kanthirava's) army. So you must move with all care and caution accompanied by a vast force."[3]

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1. K.N.V., XI, Vs.61-65. All these places are in modern Bangalore, Tumkur and Kolar districts.
2. Ibid. XI, Vs.68: Doreyidda paṭṭaṇavanu muttigeyikki
   Bharadinda seḷedoḍe baḷika
   Arasa kaṭṭidirāṭa mugidante mikkina
   puravemma Kaivasavahudu.
3. K.N.V., XI, V.78: Ātana manneyaroḷu sangarakidi
   (contd)

Review of the forces: Instructing the Vazirs thus, R.D. Khan expressed his desire to review the forces which several chieftain had brought to the battle field. Among those generals, Shahji was commanding an army of 6000 horse, 7 to 8 thousand foot and 10 elephants.[1]

After holding a review of his forces, R.D.Khan ordered the entire army to march against Srirangapatna. The army, marching by way of Channapatna reached the environs of Srirangapatna, plundering the villages and carrying off what-ever that was available to them on theway.[2]

Having came to know of the encampment of the Muslim army in the vicinity of Srirangapatna, Kanthirava Narasaraja made tremendous preparations to meet the enemy.

Envoys were sent to the court of Mysore: Tremendous preparations were made on either side. R.D.Khan sent his envoys to the court of Kanthirava of Mysore. The envoys told the king as follows:

> "Obedient to the orders of the Sultan of Bijapur, we took possession of many kingdoms in the Karnataka. Hearing the news of your prowess,

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(This foot-note continued from previous page)

Rātu niluva ripu nriparu
Bhūtala dolagilla rādarinda balu bala
Vrātade teralabekenda.

1. Ibid, XI, V. 89:

Holevatējigalāru sāvira subhata sam
Kulavēlentu sāviravu
Gulabigidāne hattesediha poujanu
Balavanta Shāhji tōridanu.

2. Ibid, XII, V.8.

we felt happy. Making friendship with and taking tribute from you, we will proceed with your army for further conquests. These are the words of our lord."[1]

Having heard the utterances of the envoys, Kanthirava gave a spirited reply:

"We do not pay tribute nor agree to make friendship with you either. However if you want to know our stuff, ask your lord to go to war with us together with all his forces. Has he come to lay siege to our city thinking that he would accord the same treatment as he had accorded to the poor kings of the surrounding kingdoms? His prowess is dried up."[2] So saying the king sent them back.

R.D.Khan asked the envoys who had appeared before him as follows:

"What is the opinion of the king, peace or war"?[3] When the envoys disclosed all that happened in the court, R.D.Khan became angry. Very soon R.D.Khan held a council of war with his Vazirs and decided that the ultimate resort would

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1. K.N.V., XII, Vs. 92-93.
2. Ibid, XII, Vs. 95-96.
3. Ibid, XIII V.2: Yēnādoreyabhiprāya nammoḷu
   Sandhānavo samarada bageyo.

be to storm the fort.[1]

The decision was immediately carried through. The Vazirs of the Khan immediately rushed and surrounded the fort. The dins of war, uproar of elephants, the blowing of the trumpets, beating of the war-drums surcharged the whole atmosphere of the battle-field with the doom that was going to fall on the fort of Srirangapatna.

Although R.D.Khan reviewed the huge Mysore army from a convenient angle, he was not perturbed. On the contrary he had determined to put in action the project of storming the fort.

<u>Hanumappa advised R.D.Khan</u>: Having came to know of the firm resolution of the commander, Hanumappa Nayaka interviewed the latter and said:

> "Why do you persist on laying siege to the town?
> Make peace (honourably).[2]

By this time Hanumappa Nayaka realised the futility of waging war with the Mysorean army. But his advice became a voice in wilderness. R.D.Khan hurried up to commence the assault.[3]

Dalavoy Nanjarajendra made full preparations to meet

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1. K.N.V., XIII, V.13.
2. Ibid, XIII, V.44: Yintappa purava laggege bidabēkamba
   Pantavētake ninageega
   Santava madikol.
3. C. Vam, P.57.

the enemy at his own level.

The army of Bijapur: The besieging army was composed of miscellaneous rabble extending from 40 to 50 thousand horse, 3 to 4 lakhs foot and between 500 and 1000 elephants.[1] It consisted of two divisions: the original Bijapur army headed by R.D.Khan and Shahji; and the remaining army was the composition of various forces of the Karnataka chieftains under the command of Hanumappa Nayaka.[2]

The army of Mysore: The army of Mysore consisted of the contingents of the chiefs of Hura, Channapatna, Maddur, Satyagala, Heggadadevanakote, Channarayapatna, Kikkeri, Bukana Kere, Piriyapatna, Talakad, Malavalli and Nagamangala, besides the forces raised by the officers in-charge of Sriranga-patna and Mysore.

The siege: On January 18, 1639, R.D.Khan laid siege to both the forts of S.R.Patna and Mysore simultaneously, but the army was repulsed with heavy slaughter. On the first day the defeated Bijapur army retreated and encamped at Palya.[3] Apart

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1. K.N.V., XI, Vs.11-107; XII, V.69; XVI, V.5; Mys.Dho. Vam., pp.33-35; Annals, I. P.73; C.Vam, I Chapter.
2. K.N.V., XI and XII: The important generals that commanded the different divisions of the main army of Bijapur were, Parat Khan, Kairiti Khan, Balavant Khan, Mustafa Khan, Abdulla (Afzal) Khan, Akalas Khan, Ambar Khan, Siddirahima, Vedoji, Raghava Pandita, Ankusa Khan, Siddi Mallick Khan of Sholapur, Adam Khan, Jilhar Khan, Muhammad Khan and Fateh Khan (XI, 83-97; XII, 43-66 (compare). For Karnataka Chiefs see XI, 63-65, 99-105; XII, 67-68. There were also Mullukas Gujaratis, Kanaujis, Khorasanis and pathans, etc.
3. Mys. Dho. Vam., P.36.

from this army, there were other divisions of the Bijapur army which scattered over the surrounding places of Mysore and Srirangapatna.

Dalavoy Nanjarajendra took the clue of the precarious position of the besiegers and made a night attack. A section of the Mysore army fell on the enemies encamped at Arakere and cut off the noses of those that fell into their hands; another division pounced upon the Muslims at Hosaholalu; another division surprised the Muslims at Yadavagiri (Melkote). Thus the Mysore army perpetrated horrible cruelties and brigandages in several encampments of the Bijapur army in the dead of night. In spite of the successive reverses at various places in Mysore and the vehement opposition of his own men, R.D. Khan never budged an inch from his decision.

R.D.Khan selected reputed generals and posted them in right places in order to raze the fort to the ground. The war commenced more vigorously than before. The Khans and Vazirs immediately surrounded and began to climb up the ramparts of the fort. Yakalas Khan, Mustafa Khan and others were climbing up the walls tactfully on one side; on the other Karithi Khan, Shahji, Afzal Khan were climbing up the walls.

Having seen the determined efforts of the Bijapuris, Nanjarajendra ordered his generals to deal with the besieging army. The Mysore generals fought heroically, slaughtered mercilessly those that fell into their hands, and repulsed

the remaining army from the surrounding place of the fort.[1]

The merciless slaughter and the defeat sustained at the hands of the king of Mysore had shattered to pieces all the high hopes of the Bijapuris in making head-way in the kingdom of Mysore. In his hour of peril, R.D.Khan summoned all the prominent generals of his army and deliberated thus:

> "It is impossible to prolong the war against Kanthirava Narasaraja who is very powerful. It is right that we should make peace with him some how or other." [2]

Channaiah of Nagamangala, who was largely responsible for the invasion of Mysore, was bewildered at the increasing difficulties; and fearing that he would be put to shame if the proposals of R.D.Khan were carried through, appealed to the commander-in-chief not to make peace with the king of Mysore. He said:

> "Do not make peace today. I will get into the fort of Srirangapatna, understand the secrecy and send word to you to get into the fort."

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1. K.N.V., XIV.
2. Annals, I. P.74: Mahā parakramaśāli gaṭada yī Kanthīrava Narasarāja Wodeyavaroḍane nāvu yuddha māḍuvuḍu asakhya. Hēgādaru sandhi maḍikonḍu hōguvudē namage uchitavu.

Accordingly Channaiah entered the fort on Saturday, the 19th of January 1639 and sent word to R.D.Khan to rush into the fort. R.D.Khan who had been waiting like an eagle to fall upon the enemies, made an entry into the fort and began to fight.

Nanjarajendra met the besiegers at their own level. It was a terrible battle where hundreds of Muslims had either lost their noses or breathed their last. The remaining army, having lost its balance to stand in the battle field, took to flight. Thus it was a glorious victory to the king of Mysore. Having freed the great historical fort from the clutches of the Bijapuries, the Mysore army stood around the fort to prevent any possible attack from the aggressors.[1]

<u>Night attack</u>: The Bijapur army which suffered heavy losses in men and materials encamped at a distance of three miles from the city.

Dalvoy Nanjarajendra reported to the king all that happened at the fort and requested the king further, to take note of the golden opportunity that offered itself to drive out the enemies from the country before day-break.[2] Kanthirava Narasaraja went to the battle field in person. Dividing the army into two sections: one under Nanjarajendra and the other under Lingendra, and having both of them on either sides,

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1. K.N.V., XIV, Vs. 24-97.
2. Ibid, XV, Vs.6 and 10: Yidu vēḷe jīya kaggoleya kālagadalli
   Madamukha khānana balava
   Sadadebbisa bēkendāga dalapati
   Muda mige binnavisidanu.

Kanthirava marched to the encampment of the Bijapur army[1] on the 20th of January 1639.

When Nanjarajendra delivered night attack on the camp of the Muslims, they were perplexed. R.D.Khan who was a resourceful and enterprising General did not lose his balance at the shock of the night attack. He did all possible effort to thwart the danger that befell upon them. By mobilising all the scattered elements of the army and awakening all the soldiers from their deep slumber, the heroic general stood and faced the overwhelming Mysore army. Then R.D.Khan who got up his horse, was at the cross road of his destiny which called upon him either to face extermination or mastery of the situation. All the Khans and Vazirs made desperate effort in withstanding the onslaught of the Mysore army. The arrows discharged from the Muslims caused horror on the field of battle. In the uproar, the whole atmosphere was thrown into confusion. Confusion and chaos reigned supreme in the dead of night in which hundreds and thousands of persons on both sides were either wounded and killed.

> The Muslims cried out "Thinking that we have suffered enough at the siege of the city, you have come to attack us, yet we are quite prepared to give you battle and take off your heads."

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1. Ibid, XV, V.17: Dalapati Nanjarājendra Lingēndrara
Taluvaderaḍu pouju māḍi
Ileyānma tanneda baladolim bittāga
Lalavattu naḍedanu raṇake.

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Despite the stout resistance, the Muslims had to yield to the superiority of Mysore arms. Fortune smiled on the Mysoreans and they were successful in putting the entire Muslim army to flight. Many were the dead bodies left on the field of battle. Thus it was a disastrous battle to the Muslims.[1] Kanthirava returned with the wreck of the army to the city, happily. The spoils of the war were presented before the king Kanthirava[2] who, rejoicing at the success of the army, gave gifts to all the prominent and eminent chiefs and warriors.[3]

R.D.Khan who had lost hundreds and thousands of best soldiers and some trained horses and elephants on the field of battle could not endure that infamy.. With great agony and pain, he returned to Hanumappa Nayaka and expressed his grief and folly as follows:

> "Oh; Nayak; what you have said before is true, since my departure from Vijayapur(Bijapur) up to this day, nay, ever since my birth up to this day I have never seen a hero of this type."

Saying thus R.D.Khan returned to Bijapur with his heart heavy, on account of the calamity that befell on him.

Kanthirava Narasaraja Vijayam,[4] Chikkadevaraja Vamsavali,[5]

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1. K.N.V.; Ch.XV. V.58; Hagalavadi Paleyagararu by M.S.Puttanna, Chap. V, p.14.
2. Ibid, V.113.
3. Ibid, V.117.
4. Chapter XIII, 18-80; XIV, XVI, 11-20.
5. pp.35-36.

Annals of the Mysore Royal family.[1] The Raja Kathavali[2] all these kannada works categarically state that the Bijapur army was defeated.

Apart from these literary sources, we have got epigraphical evidences to substantiate the statement. A record of 1639,[3] issued shortly after the event refers to Kanthirava Narasa "as the destroyer of the demons, the race of yavanas." Another record[4] refers to Kanthirava "as God Narasimha incarnate, born on the earth to destroy the Turushkas" and records that "when he went forth to war, the Mlechchas fell down in a swoon."

Historians of South India like Wilks[5] and S.Krishnaswamy Iyangar,[6] relying on the more or less above sources, had accepted that the Bijapur army was repulsed with heavy slaughter and Kanthirava won a brilliant victory.

We shall now turn to other sources bearing on this event. Muhammad Namah, a contemporary persian source gives the following informations "Rustam-e-Zaman (Ranadulla Khan) himself started to punish the Rajah of Srirangapatna, named Kanti Rai (Kanthirava).

He besieged the fort for one month and then the Raja sent his ambassador with a message, saying "Leave this fort to

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1. I. pp.72-76.
2. Ch.XII, 470-472.
3. Epigraphia Carnatica, III (1) Nj.198.
4. Ibid, III (1) Sr.103 (1647)
5. History of Mysore,(1930), Vol.I, P.59.
6. Ancient India, pp.292-293.

me and I will give you 5 lakhs of huns as an indemnity."
Rustam-e-Zaman granted this request.[1]

Shiva Bharata, a sanskrit poem by Paramananda, published from the manuscripts in the Tanjore Palace Library says:

> "Kanthriva, the Raja of Shrirangapatna was very cruel and was subdued by Shahji, which act of valour was much appreciated by Ranadaulah".[2]

Marathi source[3] says that Shahji took tribute from Kanthirava of Mysore.

The last three sources supply with definite informations that Kanthirava Narasaraja was completely defeated by the invader.

Treaty of Jan.21, 1639: Ranadulla Khan, at the submission of the king of Mysore, reassured him with promises of Adil Shah's favour. At the same time, R.D.Khan received an express message from the Sultan of Bijapur[5] urging him to return immediately. There upon a truce was arranged mainly by the

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1. See Shiv.Nib. II. pp.99-100; Sarkar: Modern Review, 1929, Nov. P.501.
2. Chapter IX, Verse 39 and 44; see also source book of Maratha history by Pathwardhan and Rawlinson, Chapter V, P.12.
3. Shiva Kalin Patra Sara Sangraha, II, P.171; see also Marathi Riyasat by Sardesai on Shahji; see also New History of the Marathas Vol.I, P.72 by the same author.
4. Muhammad Namah pp.170-171 as cited by Sarkar in Modern Review for Nov.1929 (P.501) see also the same Review 1929, Vol. XLVI, pp.7-9; see also Shiv.Nib. II, P.100.
5. Mys. Dho. Vam. P.36.

influence of Shahji[1] between R.D.Khan and Kanthirava of Mysore according to which (1) the territory lying to the south of Cauvery should go to the possession of Kanthirava and (2) right to the revenues of the territory lying to the north of the river should belong exclusively to the Sultan of Bijapur (3) and the revenues should be paid regularly after deducting necessary expenses incidental to its management.[2]

As R.D.Khan had to leave the place in a hurry, he entrusted the duty of taking delivery of the tribute from the king of Mysore to Qazi Said and the Hindu chieftain Hanumappa Nayaka and returned to Bijapur[3] with remnant of his force. Hanumappa Nayaka was entrusted with the additional duty of seeing the proper working of the terms of the treaty. To secure safety to the Hindu chieftain, guards were also stationed.[4] When the tribute came into the hands of Qazi Said, he left for Bijapur.[5]

By this treaty signed on January 21, 1639, Mysore lost her new conquests in the province of Jagadeva Rayal. Though Kanthirava Narasaraja agreed to the humiliating treaty in his distress, he seems never to have thought of fulfilling it, as his subsequent attitude would clearly show.

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1. Sardesai commemoration volume P.75;
   C.Srinivasachari: A History of Gingee and its rulers, P.168.
2. Annals, I. pp.75-76.
3. Muhammad Namah in Modern Review, 1929, P.502; see also
   Shiv.Nib. II, P.100 for the same work.
4. Annals, I. pp.75-76.
5. Muhammad Namah in Modern Review, 1929, P.502.

Ranadulla Khan's adventure during his return journey.

Venkatapati Raya was much perturbed for the unpatriotic way of his nephew Sriranga. He never expected even in his dream that the prince of Vijayanagara Empire which stood as a bulwark against the advancing tide of the Muslim invasion for more than 2½ centuries would ever render a military help to Ranadulla Khan, the Bijapur general in his conquest of the Karnatak. Venkatapati grieved heavily at the conduct of the prince and appealed to all his subordinate chieftains of the South for help. Madura promptly responded; and its Nayak detached Ramappaiyan, a reputed general, at the head of a large force. The huge army reached Bangalore passing by way of Dindigal, Trichinopoly, Srirangam, Arni and Vellore, took interview with Venkatapati Raya, assured him to do all possible help to crush Ranadulla Khan. Feeling difficulty of encountering the Bijapur army, Ramappaiyan made an alliance with the Nayak of Ikkeri; and by mobilising all the resources and making tremendous preparations, he stood before the fort for its defence.

According to Ramappaiyan Ammanai, Ranadulla Khan, who was retreating to Bijapur with his army encountered the huge Hindu army at Bangalore and was completely defeated.[1]

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1. Tamilgham in the 17th century, pp.38-39. I greatly doubt the validity of the story as no change had come about in the ownership of Bangalore. Shahji continued to be the Governor of Karnatak Bijapur Balagat with his residence at Bangalore. Secondly kannada sources maintain discreet silence on this point.

Having suffered this discomfiture, R.D.Khan returned to his homeland. On the way he stepped on the soil of Chikkanayakanahalli which was then, governed by Immadi Bhairava Nayaka (1618-1646). Cantioning at a distance, R.D.Khan sent word to the chieftain for some help. But the chieftain replied that it was not possible to send any help as they invaded the Mysore kingdom whose ruler was his ally. The reply enraged R.D.Khan, but he was helpless. Postponing the conquest of Chikkanayakanahalli to a future date R.D.Khan retreated to Bijapur.[1]

Importance of the event: R.D.Khan's invasion of Mysore was an important event in the history of Mysore Maratha relations. For the first time Shahji came into armed conflict with the raja of Mysore. Shahji understood the special features of the Mysorean warfare namely, surprise night attacks and the "cutting of noses." The gallant defence of the fort by the Mysorean army during the siege was most amazing and this imprinted on the mind of Shahji.

Though Shahji fought and defeated a Hindu, yet he restored his territories by actively mediating and proposing a treaty between his army-chief and Kanthirava Narasaraja. It was in this campaign that the seeds of enmity between Mysore and Maharashtra were sown.

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1. M.S.Puttanna: Hagalavadi Paleyagars, pp.14-16. The date given in this work for the conquest of S.R.Patna and other places is wrong.

Above all it was this stream of invasion that brought Shahji to the Mysore Kingdom and established him at Bangalore which in course of time developed into a great centre of Maratha activities.

CHAPTER IV.

Relations Between Shahji and Kanthirava, 1639-1648.

Third Karnatak expedition: During this third Karnataka expedition, Ranadulla Khan conquered more territories and handed over them to Shahji. In the second Karnatak expedition (1638-1639) Shahji was permanently posted at Bangalore by Ranadulla Khan with the sanction of the Adil Shah. Shahji found this place convenient to establish a court for himself. Thenceforward Shahji took keen interest in establishing a kingdom in Mysore; and for the gratification of his ambition, political circumstances that prevailed in the south were favourable to him.

Causes: After the departure of the Bijapur army Virabhadra Nayaka took up his residence at Bednur and repaired it so as to make it stand against another siege by Bijapur. After improving his position, he turned to Hanumappa Nayaka who was responsible for the intervention of the Bijapur army in the affairs of the south. He despatched a diplomatic representative named Ramakrishnaiya with presents to the Sultan of Bijapur and solicited his aid to punish[1] his enemy. Secondly Kanthirava Narasaraja of Mysore had not paid the arrears of tribute due to Bijapur,[2]

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1. Ke.N.V.Ch.VI, P.98, V.34; Annals (I. P.83) states that persons named Huvaiya & Puvaiya were despatched.

2. Annals I. pp.83-84.

according to the treaty of 1639. Thirdly, Hanumappa Nayaka who was placed in charge of the territory on the northern bank of the Cauvery as against Kanthirava Narasaraja holding the territory south of the Cauvery[1] revolted against Bijapur and thus brought about the general rising of the Hindu Rajas throughout the Karnatak against Bijapur.[2]

<u>A commission under Channaiah:</u> To conduct an enquiry to the unsatisfactory arrangements made at Mysore, a commission was appointed of which Nagamangala Channaiah was a member. Hanumappa Nayaka, who did not like the intervention of the commission, murdered Nagamangala Channaiah in cold-blood when he arrived in Basavapatna to conduct an enquiry. Irritated at the high-handedness and treachery of Hanumappa, the Sultan of Bijapur launched forth the third Karnatak expedition in 1640. R.D.Khan,[3] Shahji and others were sent to lead the expedition. In order to employ divide-and-rule policy' in his venture, R.D.Khan wrote to Virabhadra:

> "If you will help me in defeating Kenge Nayak, I will restore to you that dominion of yours which I gave to him after the victory of Ikkeri".[4]

Feeling happy, Virabhadra accepted the proposal and joined the

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1. M.N. in Shiv.Nib. Part II, P.100.
2. Sarkar: House of Shivaji, P.54.
3. Annals, (I.pp.83-84) and Mys.Dho.Vam. say that R.D.Khan was dismissed and Khan Khan was appointed in his place. This seems to be erreneous as Ke.N.V., K.N.V; and Muhammad namah speak of the presence of R.D.Khan in this expedition of 1640.
4. M.N.in Shiv.Nib. II. P.100.

Sultan's army at Harihara. The combined Bijapur Ikkeri armies, crossing the river Bhadra at Hebbe arrived in Basavapatna.[1] R.D. Khan sent a message to Hanumappa Nayak for surrendering the fort but he was not inclined to do so. Thereupon, Shahji was despatched with Afzal Khan, Badaji, Sidi Rayhan, Sholapuri, Husaini Ambar and others to besiege the fort. In the sanguinary action that followed, Hanumappa Nayaka could not long hold out. He came out of the fort, expressed sorrow at his past deeds and delivered the fort along with 40 lakhs of Hun.[2] According to a source,[3] Hanumappa Nayaka was murdered at Dudda, and according to another source[4] he and his brothers were captured and his brothers[5] were sent to Bijapur. According to some other source, the Bijapur general converted the temples at Santebannur into a mosque and endowed with villages, Kulunur and Kempanahalli. He stationed guards in Santebannur. He appointed Murtij Beg as the Governor of Basavapatna and Hanumappa was taken prisoner to Bijapur. After a while his younger brother Chikka Kenga Hanumappa of Banavara went to Bijapur to have his brother released. The Shah honoured him with presents and sent him back with his kingdom restored.[5 a.]

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1. Ke.N.V. P.99 says that the Ikkeri forces were led by Shivappa Nayaka, uncle of Virabhadra; K.N.V., XVI. Vs.22-24; K.A.N. Sastry and N.Venkataramanaiya: Further sources of Vijayanagara History Vol. I, P.344.
2. M.N. in Modern Review, July 1929. P.9; House of Shivaji,pp.54-55; Annals I. P.85; Mys.Dho.Vam. speaks of the siege of Tenje. It may be interpreted as Kenge identical with Basavapatna.
3. Mys.Dho.Vam, I.Ch.
4. Ke.N.V., VI. Vs.99; K.N.V., XVI, Vs.25-29
5. Proceedings of the I.H.R.C. XVI., pp.50-51.

(for 5 a foot-note please see next page)

Shiva Bharata[1] says that

> "When Ranadaula (Ranadulla) attacked Karnatak then Shahji defeated Kenge Nayak of Vrishapattan (Basavapatna)".

This is confirmed by an account compiled in Tanjore in the days of Raja Sarfoji by his chitnis in 1803. It says that

> "Shahji went on the southern invasion with Ranadhoola Khan sent by Adil Shah. He conquered Kenge Nayaka".[2]

After the reduction of Basavapatna, Afzal Khan, Shahji and other reputed generals were sent with a big army in advance to conquer Chikkanayakanahalli. When the army arrived in Chikkanayakanahalli, its chief was terror-stricken and sent a message:

> "If you kindly allow me to keep the qasba, I will leave my men therein and accompany you for your help".

Accordingly the fort and 20,000 Huns were taken leaving the qasba for the chieftain.[3]

Belur was taken: R.D.Khan transferred his military camp from Basavapatna to Chikkanayakanahalli and detached another contingent to Belur

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(contd. from previous page)

5 a. Malnad chiefs by R.Shamasastry in Q.J.M.S., XIV. July 1923, P.761.

1. Ch. IX, V.37.
2. It says that he was the ruler of Kongu country. It is an error. See Shivaji Nibhandavali Part II, P.66.
3. House of Shivaji, P.55; Shiv.Nib. P.II, pp.101-102; K.N.V., XVII, V.53.

in order to help Afzal Khan and others who had laid siege to the fort of Belur.[1] After a protracted siege of 4 months, Venkatapati, the chief of Belur entered into negotiations with R.D.Khan, agreeing to deliver Sakrepatna in exchange for his fort. The spoils of the war were carried off to Bijapur.[2]

Tumkur: On seeing the tremendous preparation of the Bijapur army in the vicinty of Tumkur, its chief surrendered and gave all his treasures to R.D.Khan. The property of the chief thus taken was transferred to Bijapur.[3]

R.D.Khan & Venkatapati raya of Vellore: After the reduction of Belur and Tumkur, R.D.Khan went and made an agreement with the ruler of Vellore, according to which both of them should carry on the war joinly and in the event of their success, R.D.Khan was to receive the movable property and the Rayal was to take possession of the immovable property. But the Raya did not seem to have kept up the promise. Consequently R.D.Khan took to conquest independently and captured Balapura (Doddaballapura). The chieftain of Doddaballapura surrendered the fort and its treasury to R.D.Khan. Then R.D.Khan turned his attention towards Kunigal,[4] and conquered it from its chieftain after a siege of 14 days. He appropriated all the wealth and gave the empty fort

1. Belur which is in Hassan district was called in ancient times Velapuri in Sanskrit.
2. Muhammad Namah in Shiv.Nib. P.102; House of Shivaji, P.55; K.N.V., XVI, V.52.
3. Ibid.
4. In Persian Source it is called Kolihal.

to the ruler of Vellore as was agreed upon.[1]

It must be remembered that Shahji, being one of the generals of the Bijapur army under R.D.Khan, played a significant part in all these territorial conquests.

Rāmagiridurga taken: Shāhji, R.D.Khān and other generals arrived at Bangalore [1 a.] about August 1640 with all their army. The encampment of the army was communicated to Kanthirava Narasaraja of Mysore who, in his perplexity at the disturbances of the enemies, despatched his Dalavoy, Nanjarajendra with instructions to take possession of Rāmagiridurga, a place commanding the route of the Bijapur army to Mysore. Vemōji Pandita, one of the generals of the Bijapur army, fought stubbernly and took possession of Ramagiridurga, putting to flight the Mysore army.[2]

According to Kannada Source battles were fought at Huliyurdurga, Bāgur, Turuvekere and Nonavina Kere, between Mysore and Bijapur, in which the army of Mysore claimed victory over the Muslims,[3] but we have no other sources to substantiate them. Muhammad Namah maintains discreet silence on these points; much more so Maratha bakhars.

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1. House of Shivaji, P.55; Shiv.Nibh.P.103; K.N.V., Ch.XVI. Tumkur, Ballapura and Kunigal were overrun by the Bijapur army even during the expedition of 1639 as pointed out already (Vide: K.N.V., Ch.XI). Probably they became independent after the departure of the Bijapuri army.

1a. K.N.V., XVI. Vs.41.

2. Mys.Dho.Vam, P.37: Vēmōji Pandītharu Rāmagiridurgavannu "thegadukondu" Vemōji pandits name is spelt in different sources as 'Vemoji pant, Vemāji pant, Vedhōji pant'. S.K.Iyyangar: Ancient India (P.294) refers to the name as 'Hēmaji pandit'. See and compare K.N.V. XVI.pp.32.43.

3. K.N.V., XVI, Vs.55-91.

Renewed relations between Bijapur and Mysore, 1640-41: In December 1640, Mustafa Khan, successor of R.D.Khan, was commissioned to lead an expedition into the Karnatak. Intent upon taking Srirangapatna, Mustafa Khan proceeded with all his rapidity and halted near Chandanahalli in the neighbourhood of Bellur. From there he sent a message to Kanthirava for the payment of the dues under the treaty of 1639. Kanthirava marched to the battle field in person with a huge army and inflicted a crushing defeat on the enemies. Mustafa Khan retreated to Bijapur ignominiously.[1]

About March 1641, another wave of Bijapur invasion under Vedoji pandit and Afzal Khan had swept away Tippur, Hampapura, Kannambadi, Akkihebbal, Gauni, Nallur, Madapura, Kattarighatta, Hosaholalu and several other places in the neighbourhood of Srirangapatna. They opposed the Mysore army under Nanjarajaiya, the Dalvoy, and returned to Bijapur with vast booty. On his way Vedoji pandit reoccupied Turuvekere; and assassinating its chieftain, handed it over to Afzal Khan, who accompanied him.[2] Thus, the series of Bijapur invasions under gallant generals like Shahji and Vedoji pandit had prepared the ground for permanent settlements of the latter in MYSORE.

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1. Annals, I. pp.85-86; Mys.Dho.Pur, I, 66; Mys.Dho. Vam, 37-38.
2. Annals, I. P.86; Mys.Dho.Vam, pp.38-39.

In this connection Sardesai says: "The Sultan held grand celebrations at Bijapur to commemorate the unprecedented triumph of three years continuous efforts in which all the Hindu potentates of the South had been overcome".[1]

The conquered territories such as Bangalore, Doddaballapura, Belur, Tumkur, Kunigal were left in charge of Shahji except Turuvekere which was managed by another Bijapur general, Afzal Khan.

Bangalore town described: Bangalore which was assigned to Shahji as a jagir became a great centre of Maratha activities. Bangalore in the region of the dilapidated Vijayanagar was then a place of historical importance full of old traditions of the fallen Hindu Empire. The town had nine gates, nine tanks, temples and four towers situated in the four quarters of the town. It was a prosperous and opulent town.[2] It was in this beautiful, attractive and delightful city that Shahji established his capital.

An account compiled in Tanjore in the days of Sarfoji by chitnis says: "Being pleased with the sight of Bangalore, the security of its fortress and the salubrity of its climate, Shahji made up his mind to fix his head quarters there".[3]

Shahji in Bangalore: The ambitious desire of Shahji was gratified when Muhammad Adil Shah of Bijapur had conferred upon him

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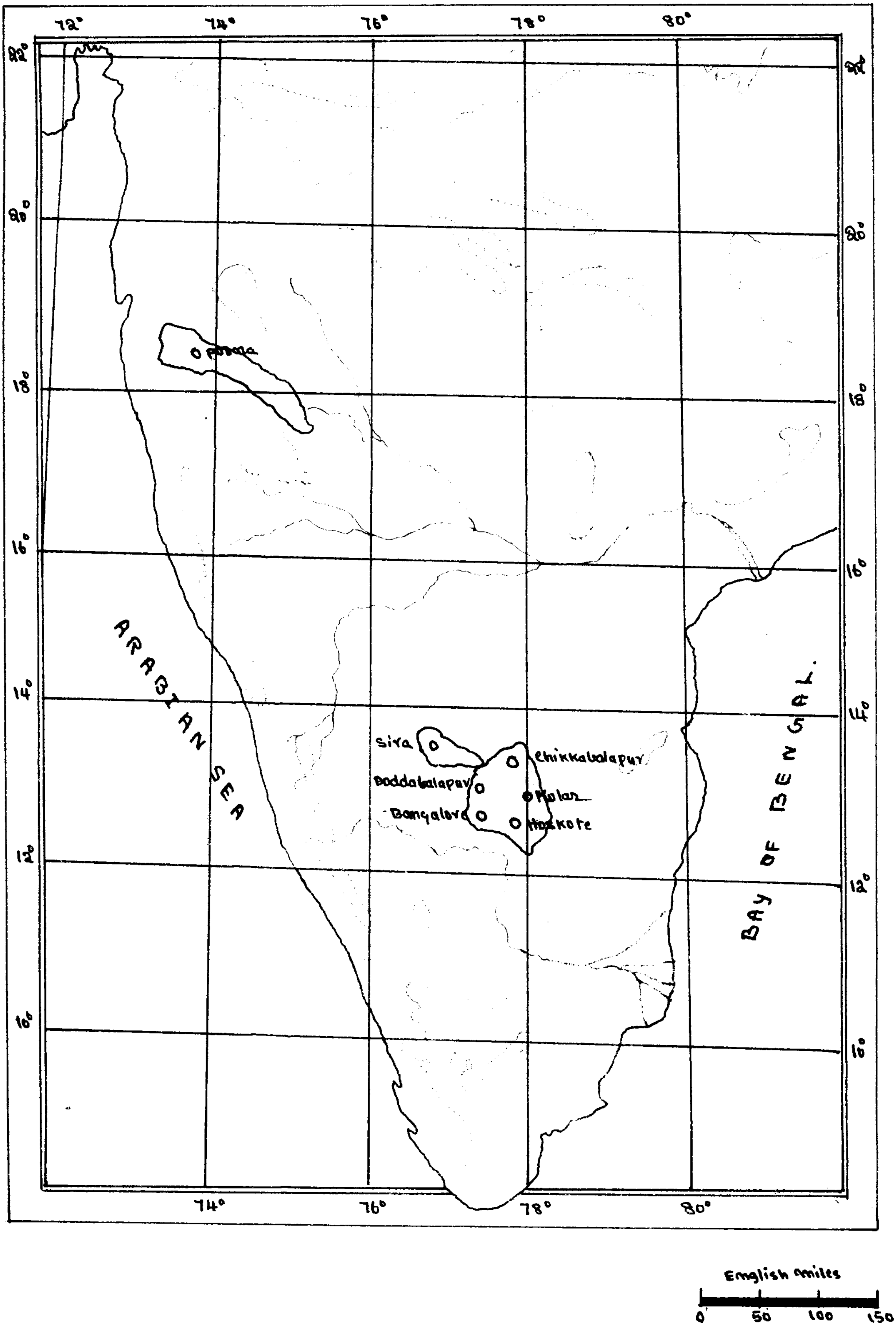
1. Sardesai: N.H.M., Vol.I. P.72.
2. S.K.Narasimiah: The Founder of Bangalore, Ch. II and III.
3. Shiv.Nib., II, P.67.

SHAHJI'S JAGHIRS.



Bangalore, Kolar, Hoskote, Doddaballapura and Sira as a Jagir. The Shah of Bijapur renamed Bangalore as Islampuri.[1] Thereupon Shahji took up his residence at Bangalore. On certain occasions, when not engaged in military expeditions, Shahji used to stay at Doddaballapura and Kolar with Nandi as his summer residence.[2] Consequent upon the third Karnatak expedition of R.D.Khan, places like Chikkanayakanahalli, Belur, Tumkur and Kunigal were placed in charge of Shahji who administered them with commendable equanimity.

Shahji earned the love and confidence of his overlord so so much ~~that~~ the latter went to the extent of saying in one of his letters: "To our son Shahji Bhonsle, the pillar of our state".[3] In another letter, the Sultan appreciated the services of Shahji rendered in several Karnatak expeditions.[4]

Shahji established almost a royal splendour and independence at Bangalore, for the central government could have hardly any effective control over a distant province. The great sagacity and dexterity he showed in evolving an administration to suit his sweet will were remarkable. A body of Maratha Brahmins were employed in his administration and trained ~~them~~ as hereditary officials. With the closer cooperation and goodwill of these officers, Shahji

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1. Sardesai: Marathi Riyasat, part I, P.64.
2. L.Rice: Mysore Gazetteer, Vol.II. P.22; Shiv.Nib, II, P.64.
3. Sarkar: House of Shivaji, P.78.
4. Ibid.

succeeded in rooting out universal anarchy and lawlessness in his kingdom, arising out of the frequent incursions of the Muslim army.[1] Marathi was introduced as the court-language. Maratha system of accounting and auditing and other novelties in respect of revenue administration were introduced, in Mysore kingdom. Maratha names like Deshpande, Deshmukh, Kulakarnee together with persian designations like Seristedar and others found convenient place in Mysore. Civil administration was continued ~~to be~~ in the hands of native officers,[2] making necessary changes at the higher plane of the administration. Therefore some sort of Double Government was instituted at Bangalore.

His court was adorned with eminent scholars, poets, musicians and saints, each one was rewarded according to his status. Thus a miniature Maharashtra Court came into existence in Mysore, the effects of which survived to this day in spite of centuries of change.[3]

Though Shahji was acting as an independent king, yet his loyalty to the Sultan of Bijapur was unquestioned. He remitted the annual contributions to the Bijapur treasury regularly. Care was taken in official dealings. In collecting revenue from his subjects, Shahji observed as much moderation as possible.[4] The subjects were happy and prosperous under his benevelent rule.[5]

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1. Wilks: History of Mysore, Vol. I, P.45.
2. Wilks: History of Mysore, Vol. I, P.45; Sardesai: N.H.M., Vol.I, P.73.
3. Sardesai: N.H.M., Vol.I, P.73.
4. Wilks: History of Mysore, Vol.I, pp.45-46.
5. Sardesai: N.H.M., Vol.I, P.73.

Shahji was wedded to court and camp.[1]

Poona Jagir: Shahji did not neglect his other jagirs at Poona. He entrusted the duty of administering it to his confidential dependent named Dadaji Kondedev who realized a considerable surplus annually from reviving the revenue system in Poona; and the surplus was remitted to Bangalore treasury faithfully.[2] Jija bai and Shivaji were left under the loving care of Dadaji who gave the best possible education to Shivaji. The other two sons named Sambhaji and Ekoji were growing in the court of Bangalore.

Dādaji, Shivāji and Jija bai at Bangalore: The closest association of Shivaji with the turbulent and hardy Mavals and the intimate pupilage under Dadaji Kondedev made him hard, bold and courageous; and these prepared him to any enterprise however difficult and dangerous it might be. Having armed himself with all the education and experience, Shivaji threw himself on the career of plundering expeditions. In order to keep Shivaji on traditional path of serving the Muslims, Shahji invited Shivaji, Dadaji and Jija bai to his court.[3] Therefore the whole family journied to Bangalore from Poona and stayed there for about two years from 1640 to 1642.[4]

Marriage of Shivaji at Bangalore: In Bangalore the marriage of Shivaji with a girl named Saibai from Nimbalkar family, was celebrated on a grand scale.[5]

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1. Shiva Charitra Nibandavali, II, P.112.
2. Wilks: History of Mysore, Vol.I, P.46.
3. Sardesai: N.H.M., Vol.I, P.74.
4. Ibid.
5. Sarkar: Shivaji and His Times, Vth edition.

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To admonish on how he should conduct himself in regard to the Bijapur Sultan, he called upon his son, wife and Dadaji to his presence. For about 2 years between 1640 and 1643, the party was at Bangalore. What happened during their visit to Bangalore was still last in mystery. Dadaji Kondedeva also visited Bangalore just a year before his death.[1]

Jija Bai went on Piligrimage:

A woman born and bread up in an orthodox atmosphere would find, as a matter of fact, her sentiments repulsive, when she was required to stay at a court where cosmopolitan atmosphere prevailed. In the same way, Jija bai was not happy to stay on in Bangalore where her husband was surrounded by the men of different tastes. Therefore, she went on piligrimage to different numerous sacred Hindu shrines in the South. The visit to Bangalore by the whole family from Poona had created great anxiety in the mind of Muhammad Adil Shah and he was keeping watch on the political developments arising out of their visit. But soon Adil Shah found the necessity of inviting them to his court in about 1643.

Death of R.D.Khan: In the meanwhile Shahji was distressed and dismayed to hear the news of the death of his own intimate friend and patron namely R.D.Khan; with the result there was none in the Adil Shah's court to champion the cause of Shahji.[2]

1. Indian Historical Quarterly Sept.1955; Shivaji Kalina Patra Sara Sangraha, Vol.3, P.173.
2. Sardesai: Maratha History Vol. I, pp.74-75.

Shahji went to Bijapur: In response to the invitation extended to him, Shahji paid a visit to the court of Bijapur along with his whole family sometime in 1643. The absence of Shahji from Bangalore was taken advantage of by many enterprising and ambitious Hindu chieftains who, by throwing off the Adil Shah's allegiance, rose in rebellion and thus started in the south, a strong revulsion against the Adil Shah's rule.[1]

Shahji and Kanthirava compared: Just as Shivaji and Aurangzeb complement each other's history, so exactly do Shahji and Kanthirava too, who were close contemporaries. The study of the two character reveals to us close similarity in their status, dignity, conquest.

Shahji stood for the honour and prestige of the Adil Shahs of Bijapur. He earned their respect and goodwill as a champion of their power. Establishing his court which almost resembled that of royal splendour, at Bangalore, he governed the Bijapuri conquered territories.[2] In the same manner, Kanthirava stood for the cause of the Vijayanagar Empire as the right-hand-man. Gajjaganahalli copper-plate[3] grant reveals to us that he had accepted the suzerainty of Venkata seated on the jewelled throne at Ghanasaila (Penukonda). Further, Kanthirava calls himself a Mahamandalesvara - Viceroy[4] and makes the grant having informed his lord Venkata, of

1. Sardesai: Maratha History Vol.I, pp.74-75.
2. Sardesai: Maratha History Vol.I, Ch. III, pp.70-76.
3. E.C. III (1) Nj. 198, ll. 25-29.
4. Ibid., ll. 85-87.

the same. Even after the succession of Sri Ranga to the throne of Penukonda, after the death of Venkata II, in 1642, Kanthirava continued to be loyal feudatory. During 1639-1642 Kanthirava as a loyal feudatory of the Empire, had saved the interest of Vijayanagar in the South.

Shahji, as a loyal feudatory, brought into submission many of the mighty, enterprising and ambitious chieftains, established the authority of the Bijapur Sultan and stood as a great barrier against their aggressions. In the same way, Kanthirava reduced many of the overgrown chieftains in the neighbourhood of Srirangapatna and by stemming the tide of invasions of Madura and other aggressive powers, he protected the interest of Vijayanagar. But visions and objects of Shahji were tempered by larger interests than that of Kanthirava.

Wars between Shahji and Kanthirava Narasaraja 1644-1645:

Writing in the "Modern Review" for July 1929, J.N. Sarkar says, in the IV division of the article, that the war was renewed in A.D.1644 between Bijapur and Karnatak. No reason for this renewal of the war is stated. He proceeds as follows

> "The fort of Tikri,[1] situated in the midst of almost inaccessible hills and forests had been surprised

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1. It is not Tikri but it is Ikkeri, the capital of the Nayak of Bednur.

by Rustum-i-Zaman, but Shivappa Nayaka wrested it from its careless indolent pleasure-loving Adil Shahi commandant. So, Adil Shah sent Khan Muhammad to recover the fort. He took both Tikri and Sagar.

In the autumn of 1645, Khan Muhammad again marched into the Karnatak (uplands) and gained a rapid succession of victories. Early in 1646 he reported the capture of Nandiyal (Karnul District) and eight other strong forts of that region.

In all these wars Shahji did not take any part. The campaign beginning with A.D.1644 and ending with A.D.1646 is given as a mere rhodomontade by this historian. That Shahji during these two years remained idle without entering into any active life is proved by this official historian. But what the Persian sources lack is supplied by Kannada sources. According to Kannada sources Shahji's life during these two years was full of political activities.

Kanthirava Narasaraja of Mysore threw himself on a career of conquest with a view to prevent any one planting colonies in his kingdom. Nanjarajaiyya was sent at the head of the large Mysore army to take Samballi, the chief of which, being supported by Tirumala Nayaka of Madura, rose in rebellion. In March 1641 Nanjarajaiya took both Samballi and Marata-halli, a dependency of the former, by putting to flight their chief.[1]

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1. Mys. Dho.Vam I Ch; K.N.V., XVII, V.2-82; Mys.Raj. Ch. P.23; C.Vam, P.59; C.Vij, II, 131-133.

Conquest of Turuvekere 1642: After strengthening southern frontier of Mysore kingdom, Kanthirava turned his attention towards the viceroyalty of Afzal Khan over Turuvekere. Turuvekere had been in the hands of Afzal Khan since its capture in 1641.

Bangalore and Turuvekere were the two places where the Bijapur interest was prominent. These two places proved to be stepping stones for further territorial encroachments in the Mysore kingdom by Bijapur.

Being an enterprising and farsighted ruler, Kanthirava realised early the menace hanging over his kingdom from these dangerous plantation of Bijapur colonies. So, Kanthirava Narasaraja had commissioned his Dalvoy, Nanjarajaiyya to exterminate Afzal Khan from Turuvekere. In May 1642, shortly after his return from the southern campaign, Nanjarajaiyya set out to lay siege to Turuvekere. In the action that followed, Nanjarajaiyya took possession of Turuvekere putting to flight Afzal Khan. This was followed by the reduction of Ane-Bagur. Nanjarajaiyya returned victoriously with large spoils of war in addition to 40 horses and an elephant named Bokkalika[1] that were seized in the confused din of war. This victory meant restriction of the sphere of influence of Bijapur to the east, west and north of Turuvekere which,

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1. Annals I, pp.69, 88; Mys. Dho. Vam, 38-40; C.Vam P.59; C.Vij, II, 138; Mys. Raj.Cha.23.

however remained a bone of contention between Mysore and Bijapur.

The news of the expulsion of Afzal Khan reached the ears of Adil Shah of Bijapur and also Shahji. Shahji seems to have felt his position shaky at the news of this disaster. Further he seems to have realised that as long as he remained an idle and unconcerned spectator of the political drama staged in Mysore by Kanthirava, he could not think of the security of his own Jagir. Therefore he had been waiting for an opportunity to pounce upon Kanthirava Narasaraja of Mysore. That opportunity offered itself when war broke out between Kanthirava of Mysore and Nanjunda Raja of Piriyapatna in 1645.

Conquest of Piriyapatna: Causes of the war were: that Nanjunda Raja of Piriyapatna had refused to pay the annual tribute of 3,000 varahas due to Mysore according to the treaty signed during the reign of Chamaraja Wodeyar; secondly that he refused to ally himself with the Raja; thirdly that he had been on friendly relations[1] with Ikkeri and Shahji, the inveterate opponents of the Mysore Raja.

It is probable that when the danger from Kanthirava of Mysore was imminent, Nanjunda Raja of Piriyapatna appealed to

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1. K.N.V., XVIII, Vs.20, 21. Shahji is representing Bijapur interest in Mysore; Annals I, pp.69, 71; Mys.Dho.Vam. 40-42; Mys.Dho. Pur, II. 13-14. C.Vam. P.59 mentions him as Mallaraja; B.L.Rice (E.C., IV (2), Introduction pp.17-18) calls him Virarajaiya without giving evidence. Wilks I, p.64 says that he was Viraraja, the son of Nanjunda Raja.

Shahji for help. Thus we find Shahji taking active part in the war against Kanthirava of Mysore.[1]

Nanjunda Raja sought the assistance of Ikkeri ruler also. Virabhadra Nayaka was not on good terms with Kanthirava of Mysore. Ever since the war of 1639, Ikkeri, on seeing the peculiar method of Mysorean warfare and also the expansion of the Mysore kingdom, used to call the latter's army by the epithet Mayavis, Mayavadis[2] (i.e. deluders, diplomatists), political jealousy and hatred probably, accounting, in a large measure, for such a description. Virabhadra Nayaka loyally supported the cause of Bijapur during R.D.Khan's expedition of Mysore. In his third Karnatak expedition of 1640, Virabhadra helped him a lot. Thus we can see the combination of Bijapur and Ikkeri.

Realising the advantages of such a help, Nanjunda Raja appealed to Ikkeri for military aid in his war with Kanthirava of Mysore. Thus war broke out between Piriyapatna and Mysore in 1645.

Kanthirava of Mysore ordered his Dalvoy, Nanjarajaiyya to lead an expedition into Piriyapatna. Accordingly Nanjarajaiyya set out at the head of a large army and conquered Palupare, a fort commanding the kingdom of Nanjunda Raja. After taking possession of it, the entire army marched to Piriyapatna, the capital of Nanjunda Raja.

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1. K.N.V., XVIII, V.113.
2. K.N.V., VI-IX. 99, 109, 118, 119, 125, 135.

The fort protected by the chieftains of various places stood impregnable. The Raja was actively assisted by the Bijapur contingent consisting of 8,000 horse and 15,000 foot. Shahji, Vedoji, Ambar Khan, Malik Rahim (Muluka Rahima) and Ankus' Khan (Ankusa Khana) were some of the prominent Bijapur generals who figured on the side of Nanjunda Raja. Shahji, accompanied by these reputed generals encamped at Bettadapura. In the terrible battle that followed from January 1645 to October 1645, Nanjundaraja fell though he fought heroically and dexterously. Both sides incurred heavy losses. Ikkeri army was put to flight. Shahji's army ran away from the field of action, himself wounded seriously. Vedoji too shared the same fate. The Mysore army ~~hardy~~ pursued hard and harassed the Bijapur army under Shahji during this panic stricken flight.

After the flight of Shahji's army, Nanjundaraja exhorted his soldiers to fight bravely in defence of the town. The army in the town fought stubbornly against the advancing tide of the Mysore army. In the thick of the fight, Nanjunda Arasu's sons and relatives lost their lives; the fort was reduced to dust and he himself was taken a prisoner. At the news of this triumph, Kanthirava himself visited the newly won fort and returned to Srirangapatna with vast booty, after stationing guards to protect the conquered fort.[1]

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1. K.N.V. XVIII Vs.20-182; C.Vam, P.59; C.Vij, II. 135-136; Annals I, P.71; Wilks I, P.64; Mys.Raj.Cha. P.23.

On October 7, 1645 after a protracted siege of nearly nine months, Piriyapatna was reduced and incorporated to the kingdom of Mysore.[1]

Muhammad Namah maintains discreet silence on this important event. Maratha Bakhars also do not say anything about this warfare. In the absence of any recorded evidence, therefore, we will have to rely upon Kanthirava Narasaraja Vijayam.

Seeing from the point of view of the repercussions, the war of Piriyapatna had left a tremendous influence on the mind of Shahji. Further the relationship between Mysore and the Marathas became bitter.

By involving himself in this war, Kanthirava of Mysore had extended his kingdom as far as Coorg. Nanjunda Raja in his flight from place to place, entered Coorg seeking the aid of its king in order to protect his honour and kingdom. In December 1645, Kanthirava pursued him to Coorg and slew him at Nanjarayapatna (in Coorg). Thus the war with Nanjundaraja made Kanthirava extend - his territory as far as Coorg in the west.[2]

Though it was a political gain to Kanthirava, he provoked the wrath of the Sultan of Bijapur and invited the Bijapur arms into his kingdom.

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1. Mys. Dho. Pur, II. 14 placing the event on October 7, 1645, Wilks I, P.64 places the event in 1644, Rice: E.C. IV (2), P.18 places the event in 1641 for which there is no evidence. The former is preferred.
2. Annals, I. pp.71-72, Mys.Dho.Pur., II. 15; S.K.Aiyangar: Ancient India. pp.294-295.

Role of Shāhji in Mustafa's Karnatak Expedition 1646 - 1647.

Shāhji's war with Kanthīrava of Mysore:- Sarkar writing an article on 'Shahji Bhonsle in Mysore', in Modern Review for July 1929, in the V division says that "In june 1646, the

> Prime Minister Mustafa Khan was despatched from the capital to subdue the Kanarese country".

The learned historian has not stated the reason as to the despatch of Mustafa Khan to the Karnatak. Bijapur invasion is begun as if it came upon Karnatak as a bolt from the blue. Historical events do not take place in that way. Action takes place only if there is a predisposing cause. Hindu accounts supply us various causes that were responsible in bringing about the intervention of Bijapur in the affairs of Karnatak.

(1) On October 29, 1642,[1] Sriranga Raya ascended the throne of Vijayanagara, soon after the death of Venkatapati II. Sriranga Raya the last unfortunate relic of the decadent Vijayanagara glory seemed to have been much better and stronger than his predecessors. He organised his resources at Vellore and wished to bring under subjection several subordinate chieftains of the south who enjoyed

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1. Further sources of Vijayanagara History, P.348.

virtual independence by throwing off their allegiance to Vijayanagara empire. The second object of the prince was to put a check to the advancing tide of the Muslim invasions.[1] In order to materialise his objectives, Sriranga Raya was fast making headway and was proved troublesome to the Bijapur interest in Karnatak. The Sultan of Bijapur, Muhammad Adil Shah realised that unless Sriranga Raya was crushed, there would be no security to the Bijapur possession of Karnatak.[2]

(2) In November 1645, Sivappa Nayaka ascended the throne of Ikkeri by dislodging treacherously Virabhadra Nayaka. He took his residence at Bednur.[3] The accession of the new ruler created a new problem in the mind of the Sultan of Bijapur as to the loyalty of Bednur to his kingdom.

(3) The subversion of the authority of Afzal Khan at Turuvekere by Kanthirava of Mysore was a terrible blow to the Bijapur interest in the Mysore kingdom.[4] Putting an end to the victorious progress of the king of Mysore was an immediate necessity to the Sultan of Bijapur.

(4) In the battle of Piriyapatna fought in 1645 Shahji, the reputed general of Bijapur, who took up the side of Nanjunda Raja

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1. C.S.Srinivasachari: A History of Gingee & its rulers P.158; R.Satyanath Iyer: Nayaks of Madura, P.127, Fn.52.
2. Sardesai: New History of the Marathas Vol. I, pp.75-76.
3. Ke.N.V., VII; C.Vam, P.190.
4. See page 3 under the Chapter 'Wars between Shāhji & Kanthīrava of Mysore.'

of Piriyapatna as against the ruler of Mysore was ignominiously defeated by the latter's army and hunted out to a distance of five miles.[1] This disastrous defeat never escaped the attention of the Sultan. Thus Muhammad Shah was faced with numerous problems arising out of this possessions in Karnatak.

<u>Mustafa Khan's march to the Karnatak:</u> Having come to know of the chaos and confusion into which the whole of Karnataka plunged, Muhammad Adil Shah of Bijapur convened an assembly of the Khans and Vazirs and questioned them if there were any among them who were capable of leading an expedition into Karnatak. Mustafa Khan, the Prime Minister stood up and offered his services to the Sultan. He said:

> "O lord, why speak more permit me to go to Karnataka. If I do not conquer and place it at your feet, you shall not allow me to stay in your court".[2]

The Sultan felt happy and detached Mustafa Khan at the head of a large and well-equipped army on June 5th, 1646[3] with full instructions as to the means by which Karnataka countries to be conquered. In order to give him a hearty send off, the Sultan accompanied Mustafa Khan as far as Ibrahimpuri.

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1. See page 6, under the Chapter 'Wars between Shahji & Kanthirava of Mysore'.
2. K.N.V. XIX, V.13: Halavu mātekele jīya Vīlyavakottu Kaḷuhenna Karnātakava seḷedu nimmaya vasamaḍadodasthana Dolageuna nirisa bēdendů.
3. M.N. in Modern Review, 1929, P.10; M.N. in Shiv.Nib., part 2, P.10.

Shahji met Mustafa at Honnali: Passing by way of Gadag and Lakshmeswar, Mustafa Khan reached Honnali (12 miles west of Basavapatna) where he met Shahji and Asad Khan who were sent in advance to guard the boundaries of Karnatak.[1]

On the 3rd October, 1646 Mustafa Khan left the place and on the 4th Shivappa Nayaka of Ikkeri came to Mustafa Khan supplying with 1000 horse and 2000 foot for the conquest of Karnataka. After contributing his quota to the General, Shivappa Nayaka, the most unpatriotic that he was, cantoned on the geographical frontiers of the Mysore kingdom with 1000 horse and 30,000 foot with a view to prevent any aggression on the part of the Mysore king against the territorial encroachments of the Muslims. Then the raja of Harpanahalli came and joined the Bijapur army with a contingent of 30,000 horse and 2000 foot.[2]

Being reinforced heavily by the levies of the local chieftains of Karnataka, Mustafa Khan, accompanied by Shahji and others reached Sakkarepatna (in Shimoga district). There he was joined by Husaini, Ambar Khan, Jujhar Rao, Abaji Ghatge, Kenge Nayaka's brother Chikka Hanumappa Nayaka, Desais of Lakshmeswar and Kopal and Balaji Haibat Rao. These Desais brought with them the contingents of 300 horse and 20,000 foot.[3]

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1. M.N. in Modern Review, 1929, P.10; M.N. in Shiv.Nib., Part 2, P.111.
2. Ibid. M.N. in Shiv. Nib., Part 2, pp.111-112.
3. Ibid.

In this campaign Shahji actively cooperated with Mustafa Khan as was desired by the Sultan of Bijapur. Shahji was supposed to have a deep experience of the political affairs in Karnataka. It is probable that Shahji disclosed to Mustafa Khan the subversion of the Bijapur authority by the Mysore king at Turuvekere as well as his disgraceful retreat from Piriyapatna.

Action at Turuvekere: Consequently Mustafa Khan, instead of directing his marches to the rich plains of the east, concentrated his attention on the capture of the Mysore principality. From Sakkarepatna, the entire army marched and encamped in the neighbourhood of Turuvekere[1] where the influence of Mysore was predominent.

When the news of the arrival of the Khan was being communicated to Kanthirava Narasaraja of Mysore, the latter detached his Dalvoy Nanjarajaiya to grapple with the situation at the head of sufficiently a big army. Mustafa Khan had 60,000[2] infantry at his disposal while Nanjarajaiya so manoe-uvred as to bring together the entire Mysore cavalry numbering 10,000 in one spot.

Mustafa Khan surrounded Turuvekere on all four directions instructing his various generals such as Shahji and others to watch

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1. K.N.V., XIX, Vs. 16-18.
2. Ferroli, S.J. in Journal of Indian History, Vol.25, 1947, P.196.

the place carefully. Having come to the place of encampment, Nanjarajaiya divided his forces into nine convenient squadrons and ordered them to pounce upon the Muslims. The Mysorean army entered the Muslim camp, opened fire and threw the entire atmosphere into confusion. Arms of various kinds were used to destroy the enemies. The military arrangements of Nanjarajaiya were so fine that the enemies were stricken with horror as to convenient passages by which they could slip away. Nanjarajaiya brought the entire Mysore army fighting in different directions of Turuvekere in one place and encircled the Bijapuris. In the sanguinary action fought in January 1647,[1] both the parties sustained heavy losses.

Nanjarajaiya fought with the enemy heroically and desperately. Unable to bear the brunt of the Mysorean army, Mustafa Khan retraced his steps from Turuvekere incurring heavy losses in men and materials. Unfortunately in the confused-fight between the two armies, Nanjarajaiya, the Dalvoy of the Mysore army was slain on the field of battle. Nanjarajaiya died a soldier's death.[2]

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1. The date of the fight has been fixed as January 1647 depending upon Muhammad Namah. Though it is silent about the activities of Mustafa Khan at Turuvekere, yet it speaks of the marches of Khan in the Karnatak between October 1646 and January 1647. The Annals, I P.88 says that Nanjarajaiya was removed from the office on an allegation of neglect of duty in January 1647. Therefore it may not be wrong if the date of the action at Turuvekere is fixed as January 1647.
2. K.N.V., XIX, 18-94.

. Defeat of Sriranga Raya at Vellore: After the battle of Turuvekere in January 1647, Mustafa Khan directed his gallant army towards the eastern dominions of Sri Ranga and very soon reached Sivaganga in Bangalore District. Sri Ranga might have felt nervous at the approach of the Muslim army and therefore despatched his envoy Venkaiya Somayaji who waited on Mustafa Khan with peace offerings so as to make him retreat to his own country wherefrom he had come, without giving room to invade Sri Ranga Raya's dominions. But the whole scheme ~~became~~ fell through when the chiefs of Madura, Tanjore and Gingee who were once the vassals of Sri Ranga, had sent their envoys tendering their submission to the Bijapur Government. This shifting political policy enraged Sri Ranga Raya who, immediately set out with 12,000 cavalry and 3 lakhs of infantry against these refractory chieftains.

Mustafa Khan seems to have been the cleverest man and therefore very soon realised that it was very difficult to depend upon the solemn words of a man from the enemy's camp. However Venkaiya Somayaji induced the Sultan to accept the peace offering he had brought with him. The Khan did not trust the words of the former. Venkaiya Somayaji persisted and prevailed upon the Khan to grant peace to the Emperor. But for Shahji, it would have been very difficult for Venkaiya to realise his cherished goal. Shahji who was the most influential man in the camp intervened in the affairs and assured the Khan that he had taken solemn oaths from

Venkaiya and he would be held responsible for Somavaji carrying out his promise. Through the mediation of Shahji, Venkaiya was able to secure the permission to go to Vellore in the company of the Bijapur envoy to settle the terms of peace. The treacherous and ungrateful Venkaiva, instead of carrying out the promise intrigued, indirectly fanned the feeling of enmity and induced Sri Ranga to prepare for the war by organising defences and fortifying the passes. No sooner the Khan heard the breach of faith than he marched on Sri Ranga's territories. Mustafa Khan first, invaded the territories of Jagdev Raya and encamped at Masti, a place about 30 miles to the east of Bangalore. Sri Ranga hurried to Gudiyatam in the north Arcot District and passing through the territories of Jagadeva Raya, reached Krishnagiri on the north-west of Salem District. The attack was delivered on Shahji who was properly reinforced by the Khan. After a severe battle, the enemies were put to flight. Jagadeva Raya's mother was killed, his country was subdued, his important forts fell into the hands of Shahji. Shahji won a brilliant victory over Jagadeva Raya and for his selfless service, Mustafa rewarded him amply.[1]

Mustafa Khan proceeded taking Krishnagiri, Virabhadranadurga and Devadurga and finally arrived at Vellore in February 1647.

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1. Muhammad Namah as translated in Modern Review 1929, P.10; Further Sources of Vijayanagar History Vol.I, by K.A.N.Sastry and Venkataramanaiya pp.354-358.

Mustafa Khan, in his determined marches to Vellore, seems to have been actuated by the ambitious desire of securing satisfactory reply from Sri Ranga.

The war was commenced more vigorously than before with the coming of Mir Jumla, the Golkonda general at the head of a large force. The Bijapur and Golkonda Governments had come to a decision of dividing among themselves the conquerred territories and wealth of Sri Ranga Raya in the proportion of two to one, two-thirds of them to Adil Shah and one third to the Qutb Shah, in the event of their success against Sri Ranga Raya.[1] To raise money for fighting this battle Sri Ranga seems to have taken jewels of women of Vellore and money from the temple of Tirupati.[2] Actively supported by Golkonda forces, Mustafa Khan was prepared for the war. Right persons were placed in suitable positions. Shahji commanded the right wing of the army along with other Muslim officers. Asad Khan stood in support of Shahji with his contingent. A bloody battle was fought under the walls of Vellore in which the slaughter on the Hindu side was great. The general of the Hindu army was severely wounded leaving large number of his men dead on the field of battle. Vellore was invested on all sides. At this critical, cross-road of ~~the~~ destiny, there was no other go for

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1. Letters of Abdull Qutb Shah, drafted by Abdul Ali Tabrezi (British Museum Persian Manuscript) as translated by J.N.Sarkar in Modern Review, 1929. P.12.
2. Macleod: Deoost Indische Campaigne, II, pp.396-398.

Sri Ranga Raya except submitting to the superior armed might of Mustafa Khan. On submission Sri Ranga Raya paid 50 lakhs of hun and 150 elephants as war reparation.[1]

Return journey of Mustafa Khan.

In April 1647 Mustafa Khan commenced his return journey.[2] On his way he conquered Gudiatam which stood on the frontier of Jagadeva, Ambur which was situated on the summit of a mountain. After the conquest of Cauveripatan, Mustafa Khan directed his army to proceed in the direction of Mysore.

The defeat of Sriranga Raya gave Mustafa Khan confidence. Therefore Mustafa Khan, forgetting the reverses he sustained at Turuvekere in 1647, proceeded on and reached Mysore about May 1647. All that happened at Mysore is clearly described by the Jesuit Missionary named Leonardo Cinnami, an Italian. He writes as follows: "Nor did he (Kanthirava) fight only against the weak but also against the Moors (Muslims) who are very strong. Mustafa Khan who was a near relation and captain general of the Idalcan, came at the head of 60,000 infantry against Messore(Mysore).

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1. Muhammad Namah as translated in Modern Review 1929, P.11; C.S.Srinivasachari: History of Gingee and its rulers P.171; Macleod: De Oost Indische Campaigne ii, P.398. as given in Further Sources of Vijayanagar History Vol. I, pp.359-360. The authors have assigned 1646 as the year in which the battle of Vellore took place, relying on the Dutch Dagh Register. But the date given in Muhammadnamah seems to be correct as it is corroborated by Kannada sources.
2. Sardesai: N.H.M., Vol. I, P.76; M.N. in Modern Review 1929, pp.10-11; Sarkar: House of Shivaji, P.59.

But he was compelled to withdraw to the country wherefrom he had come".[1] During his sojourn on the environs of Mysore, Mustafa Khan showed greatest fear. He used to spend night times only on his elephant surrounded by vigilant guards, for he expected attack of the Mysore army on his camp at any time day or night, whose pecular way of warfare was the cutting off noses of those that fell into their hands.[2]

Having been compelled to retreat from the environs of Mysore, Mustafa Khan determined to conquer other places belonging to Mysore. Accordingly Mustafa Khan and Shahji conquered Melgiri, Arjunkot and Dhalen Kot[3] and changed the scene of war to Channarayapatna.

The two epigraphic records[4] found at Channarayapatna, dealing with the erection of some monuments incidentally refer to the building of the fort at Channarayapatna in 1648 by the chief of that place. Rice thinks that "the building of the fort in 1648 must have been in accordance with some agreement or treaty with Bijapur ... some mutual understanding must be assumed to have been entered into between Mysore and Bijapur for the greater security of both

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1. Journal of Indian History, Vol.25, 1947, P.196. (Hereafter it will be quoted as J.I.H.).
2. J.I.H., Vol.25, 1947, P.196.
3. Sarkar (House of Shivaji, P.59) locates these places in Jagadeva Raya's country. But they were all in Mysore. Melgiri is Melkote, Arjunkot is Maddur (See Rice's Gazetteer, Vol. II, P.265), Dhalenkot is Talkad (See Rice's Gazetteer Vol.II, P.307, 308).
4. E.C.V(1) Cn.160 and 165 (dated 1648): Turukara Rajakariyadalli Kalla Koteya Kattisidaru: Vijayapurada patsaravara raja karyadalli kalla koteya kattisidaru.

the dominions".[1] From this it is clear that after the conclusion of a treaty between Mustafa Khan and Kanthirava the latter gave over Channarayapatna sime to Doddaiah. In the royal service of the Sultan of Bijapur, Doddaiya was constructing a stone fort and hence these two inscriptions.

From Channarayapatna, Mustafa Khan and Shahji proceeded and conquered Hassan.[2] From there the entire Bijapur army marched to Tumkur and after annexing several principalities in Tumkur, the army turned towards Bijapur.

The Sultan of Bijapur came up as far as the river Krishna to receive the victorious Mustafa.

Shahji and Asad Khan and others were left in charge of the conquered territories. Shahji played a magnificent role in the campaign of 1646-1647 by championing the cause of the Bijapur Sultan. He distinguished himself as an able General and an experienced captain in knowing the secrets of Karnataka warfare. For this selfless service he was properly rewarded by being placed in his charge the entire conquered Karnatak territories and conferring on him the highest distinctions of Maharaja and Farzand.[3].

Sardesai[4] believes that the negotiations that went on

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1. Rice (E.C.V (1), Introduction, P. XXXV.
2. M.N. in Shiv.Nib. part 2, P.119.
3. C.S.Srinivasachari: Gingee and its Rulers, P.169.
4. Maratha History Vol.I, pp.76-77.

between Shahji and Sri Ranga Raya were open secret. Perhaps, it was this good understanding and mutual goodwill between Sri Ranga Raya & Shahji that made the latter propose the terms of peace to Mustafa when Venkaiya Somayaji had approached him. Though Mustafa was unwilling to accept the mediation of Shahji, yet the force of circumstances made him speechless when Shahji had come forward proposing terms between Mustafa & Sri Ranga Raya. But the whole course of event was upset when Sri Ranga Raya had decided on an openfight. The active participation and the readiness with which Shahji mediated to propose terms of peace between the two clearly shows the attitude of Shahji towards Hindu cause. It is most likely that Shahji was brooding over day in and day out for the formation of a powerful confederacy of Hindu rulers of the country consisting of the Nayaks of Madura, Tanjore and Gingee and the Raja of Mysore and chiefs of Ikkeri and Kaveripatanam in order to put an end to the onward rush of the Muslims into Karnatak. This was perhaps, one of the reasons why Shahji was arrested by the Bijapur Sultan in 1648.

In spite of the reverses that Shahji sustained, once at Piriyapatna, another time at Turuvekere, another time at Mysore - by the army of Kanthirava, the former was able to recover from them all very soon. In 1648 Mustafa Khan left Shahji in charge of the conquered territories in Karnataka. Thenceforward he became more powerful than before. His court at Bangalore was nothing but the replica of the Maratha court. So far as the relations were concerned Shahji and Kanthirava stood as bitter opponents face to face.

CHAPTER V.

Activities of Shahji in Mysore

1648-1664.

Causes of Mustafa Khan's invasion: (1) Soon after the departure of Mustafa Khan from Vellore, Sriranga Raya took possession of his capital abrogating the authority of Bijapur. When the news of the acquisition of Vellore by Sriranga Raya reached the ears of Muhammad Adil Shah of Bijapur, the latter became furious.[1]

(2) Tirumala Nayaka of Madura wanted to free himself from the yoke of Vijayanagara empire, of which he was a feudatory. In order to realise his object, he entered into negotiations with the Nayaks of Tanjore and Gingee. But the Tanjore Nayak betrayed the scheme by disclosing it to the Emperor. Being angry at the treacherous behaviour of his feudatory, Sriranga Raya marched with an army against the Nayak of Gingee, the nearest rebel. Then Tirumala Nayaka appealed to the Golkonda Viceroy on the frontier to subdue Sriranga Raya's territories. Sriranga Raya had to abandon his scheme of punishing the Nayak of Gingee and repulse the Muslim force that had entered Vellore. When Golkonda was forcing its way to Gingee, Tanjore Nayaka surrendered to them agreeing to render all possible help.

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1. Sardesai: N.H.M., Vol.I, P.76.

Betrayed by this Tanjore Nayak, Tirumala Nayaka of Madura appealed to Adil Shah for help.[1]

(3) According to Paramananda 'Shahji was believed to have become overmighty in the Karnatak and the Hindu princes there, under his inspiration had ceased to fear the Muhammadans".[2]

(4) During the previous campaign of 1646-1647, Mustafa Khan had kept a strict watch on the movements of Shahji towards the Hindu chieftains and a general report regarding the faithfulness of Shahji seems to have been communicated to the Shah of Bijapur who, relying on the convincing report, came to an understanding that if Shahji was not checked in time, it would be rather difficult to maintain his suzerainty over the southern regions.[3]

<u>Conquest of Gingee</u>: <u>Arrest of Shahji</u>:- After a long deliberation, another expedition was fitted out on January 12, 1648[4] under the able generalship of Mustafa Khan; and this last and greatest campaign of Mustafa was aimed at Gingee, then the storm centre of Hindu revolt. Shahji was ordered to accompany him when Mustafa Khan arrived near Gingee, Mir Jumla was already there besieging the fort. But very soon the two generals came to an understanding

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1. Sarkar: House of Shivaji, pp.60-61; Shiv.Nib., Part II, P.60. See and compare Further Sources of Vijayanagara pp.360-361.
2. Shiva Bharatha, 9. 28-44 - Source book of M.History, P.12.
3. Sardesai: N.H.M. Vol.I, P.77.
4. Sarkar (Modern Review, 1929, P.11) says that he left Bijapur on the 17th Jan.1648 but on 17th the Sultan was at Muhammadpur leaving Bijapur on the 12th, see Shivaji Nibandavali, P.121.

with the result Tirumala Nayaka could not effectively help the defence of Gingee. Golkonda General entrusted the siege of Gingee to Bijapur General and withdrew from the field.[1] Mustafa Khan surrounded the fort. It was found very formidable and almost impregnable. The siege was protracted for some months. Shahji found that the Bijapur troops, instead of helping Tirumala was actually in league with Mir Jumla. This enraged Shahji. Consequently he prolonged the siege. Mustafa Khan who had been suffering from some disease could not bear the disloyal feelings of Shahji and Siddi Raihan. Therefore Mustafa Khan arrested Shahji,[2] on 25th July 1648.[3] The Sultan of Bijapur who was seriously ill ordered Mustafa Khan to send Shahji to Bijapur immediately. But Mustafa Khan died on his way on November 9th 1648.[4] Then the command of the Bijapur army devolved upon Khan Muhammad who conquered Gingee on 28th December 1648.[5]

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1. M.N. in Shiv. Nib., P.122.
2. Main reasons for the arrest of Shahji were differently stated in several sources. According to Muhammad Namah Shahji was arrested because the latter wanted to get away from the camp. Basatin-us-Salatin says that when the siege of Gingee was going on, Shahji practised opposition and therefore he was arrested. Shiva Bharat says that Shahji was giving lead to all the Karnataka chieftain and therefore Adil Shah decided to put a brake to his growing might. According to the letter dated 23rd December 1647, of Abdul Qutb Shah, Shahji requested Qutb Shah of Golkonda to take him to his service. This was reregarded disloyalty and therefore Shahji was arrested. - See Shivaji Nibandavali, Part II, pp.124-125.
3. Jedhe Sakavali in Shivaji Souvenir, P.6.
4. Basatin-us-Salatin, P.327.
5. Ibid., P.329.

Release of Shahji: The confinement of Shahji increased doubts and fears in the mind of the Sultan; for, two important places, namely Bangalore in the south and Sinhgad in Maharashtra were still held by Sambhaji and Shivaji, the two sons of Shahji. The question of wresting the two places involved the fate of Shahji who just arrived in Bijapur.[1]

Nevertheless the Sultan was bent upon conquering them by force. One detachment was sent from Gingee against Sambhaji and another from Bijapur against Shivaji. The Bijapur army was utterly defeated and disgraced by Shivaji. Another army sent against Sambhaji fought stubbernly in the neighbourhood of Bangalore but was completely routed. Sambhaji showed remarkable skill and valour in the defence of Bangalore against the besieging force. The news of the defeat at both the places had puzzled the Sultan.[2]

Then the Sultan negotiated with Shahji for the surrender of the fortress of Kondana, Bangalore and a place called Kandari in the Bellary District. Shahji agreed to the compromise and wrote letters to his two sons to deliver the forts to the officers of the Sultan of Bijapur.[3] The two sons obeyed promptly. Then the Sultan called Shahji to his presence, honoured him with a robe of a minister and conferred upon him his former country.[4] Thus Shahji was set at liberty on May 16th 1649

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1. Sardesai: N.H.M., Vol. I, pp.78-79.
2. Shiva Bharat in Source Book of Maratha History, P.13; Sarkar: House of Shivaji, pp.68-69.
3. M.N., in Shiv.Nib., II, P.128; Shiva Bharat, 15, 37-39.
4. Sarkar: Modern Review, July 1929, pp.11-12; House of Shivaji, P.63.

after a detention of nearly 10 months.[1]

After the restoration of Bangalore, Shahji returned to Karnataka again, took up his residence at Kanakagiri and spent several months there.

Ekoji was looking after the administration of Bangalore and other territories dependent on it during the absence of Shahji at Kanakagiri while Sambhaji went over to his father at Kanakagiri to assist him.[2]

Shahji in the war of 1651: Shahji fought with Mir Jumla in the contest of 1651 that broke out between Bijapur and Golkonda over the question of the division of territories jointly conquered in the Karnatak. Being defeated, Mir Jumla had to pay 9 lakhs of Hun as war indemnity to Shahji. This victory enhanced the reputation of Shahji.[3] After this war, Shahji seemed to have established himself at Kanakagiri till 1654.

Kanthirava's territorial conquest: Kanthirava Narasaraja, the most ambitious ruler that he was, took advantage of the absence of Shahji in Kanakagiri and began to subdue the territories around Bangalore. The pillaging expeditions would clearly indicate the determined effort of Kanthirava to exterminate the Marathas from the soil of Mysore.

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1. Jedhe Sakavali in Shivaji Souvenir, P.6.
2. Sarkar: N.H.M., Vol.I, P.80.
3. Sardesai: N.H.M., Vol.I, P.80; Sarkar: House of Shivaji, P.72, F.N.62. Sarkar says that the war indemnity taken by Shahji was 6 lakhs. I have preferred the sum mentioned by Sardesai. See also Vijayanagara Sex Centenary Commemoration Volume P.121.

Kanthirava Narasaraja undertook an expedition in person, laid siege to Magadi and conquered it from its keeper Immadi Kempe Gowda about 1648-1650. In April 1651 he subdued Hebbur and annexed it to his kingdom from Immadi Kempe Gowda whose son named Mummadi Kempe Gowda showed remarkable skill in the fight.[1] In the same year Kanthirava conquered Sulekeredurga, Nayakavadi State, Yelahanka-nadu, Channagiri and Basavapatna from the Muslims.[2] These conquests indicate nothing but the ambitious desire on the part of Kanthirava in extending his dominion towards the north in the direction of the Maratha Kingdom. What Ekoji did during the devastating expeditions of Kanthirava, we have no means of knowing; probably Ekoji pursued a policy of non-intervention in the affairs of Mysore so long as his territories remained undisturbed by the pillaging activities of Kanthirava.

<u>Sri Ranga Raya in Mysore</u>: Unable to stay in the environs of Tanjore as it was forcibly submitted to Bijapur early in 1649,[3] Srirangaraya, the unfortunate relic of the decadent Vijayanagara empire, sought shelter of Kanthirava. Proenza[4] says:

> "The grand monarch ..... was forced to beg help from the king of Mysore, once the vassal of his crown". Sriranga Raya came to Mysore; and it is likely that he stayed at Srirangapatna[5] enjoying the brilliant treatment and discussing

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1. Wilks: History of Mysore, I, 64, 66-67; Annals, I, P.69 Kunigal Kempe Gowda mentioned here is to be identified with Immadi Kempe Gowda. Mys.Dho.Pur., II. 18; C.Vam, 37; Virabhadra Vijaya Champu by Ekambara Dixit, P.71.
2. Annals, I. P.70
3. Macleod: De Oost - Indische Compaignie, P.407.

(for foot-note 4 please see next page)

problems of common importance with the king. During his two-year stay (1650-1652)[1] Sriranga Raya did his best in organizing an army to attempt the reconquest of his kingdom. In the meanwhile Kanthirava had to face a Muslim invasion from Bijapur.

Invasion of Khan Muhammad 1652.

Causes: The Sultan of Golkonda wrote a letter to Muhammad Adil Shah of Bijapur requesting permission to conquer the fort to Kundi Kotah. The request was granted. Mir Jumla went and conquered Kundi Kotah as well as Chandra Gutti. Overgrown with pride, Mir Jumla trespassed the geographical frontiers of Bijapur. This enraged the Sultan of Bijapur. The latter despatched Khan Muhammad with an army to punish Mir Jumla and take back the forts conquered by him.[2]

Khan Muhammad started his campaign in 1652,[3] reached Chandra Gutti, and compelled Mir Jumla to submit. The latter

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4. Proenza's letter of Nikel, Trichinopoly, 1659. See Nayaks of Madura, P.265; The Hague Transcripts referred to by William Foster in the English Factories in India (1651-1654), Introduction, P.XXV.
5. Where exactly Sriranga Raya sojourned in Mysore is a controversial point. K.A.N.Sastry and R.Venkataramanayya in "Further Sources of Vijanagara History", P.363 refer him to have taken up his residence at Belur. It is in the fitness of things that he remained at Srirangapatna.

1. Further Sources of Vijayanagara History, P.364; C.Hayavadana Rao: History of Mysore, Vol.I, P.145.
2. M.N. in Shiv.Nib., II, pp.131-132.
3. R.Orme: Historical Fragments, P.62. Sarkar on the basis of Persian sources fixes the date of Bijapur invasion on 1650 (M.R., July 1929; Nov.1929, P.502) but in the light of other sources , it may be fixed to 1652.

sued for peace and it was granted. Then Khan Muhammad marched on Penukonda and conquered it at ease in March 1653.[1] After wresting the town, Khan Muhammad started his return journey and came up to Badkot where a representative of Muhammad Adil Shah met the general and persuaded him to give up the idea of going back to Bijapur.[2]

Why Muhammad Adil Shah desired his general Khan Muhammad to continue the war in the Karnatak? The reason was that there was a fringe of debatable land between Kanthirava Narasaraja and the Bijapur Sultan, that was the Jagadev country and Kanthirava Narasaraja took advantage of the absence of Shahji from Bangalore and also of the declining royal power at Bijapur from 1650 onwards to make conquests[3] in this region.

According to Muhammad Namah,[4] while Khan Muhammad was engaging himself in the siege of Penukonda (1652), "Siddi Raihan's sons in Sera (Sira) rebelled against Adil Shah and won over to their side the Rajahs of the neighbourhood", and were instigating "the Rajah of Mysore, who was the master of four lakhs of infantry and forty thousand good elephants", to encroach upon the Bijapur

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1. M.N. in Modern Review, Nov.1929, P.502; Further Sources of Vijayanagara History, pp.364-365. C.Vam speaks of the siege of Vellore and Penukonda by the Muhammadans.
2. M.N. in Shiv.Nib, II. P.133.
3. Sarkar: Modern Review for Nov.1929, P.501.
4. Modern Review (M.N.) for Nov.1929, P.502.

territories in the Karnatak. The Persian source continues,[1] "the Rajah of Mysore wrested all the forts in the Jagdev country, which Mustafa Khan conquered with so much effort".

In fact, between November 1652 and January 1653 Kanthirava took in rapid succession Ratnagiri, Virabhadradurga, Kengere-Kote, pennagara, Denkani-Kote and Dharmapuri[2] forts said to have been held by "Yatibala Rao",[3] a Bijapur General, perhaps identical with Balaji Haibat Rao of Muhammad Namah.

Apart from these acquisitions in the Jagadev country, Kanthirava had plundered the whole of Yalahankanad and conquered many territories belonging to Bijapur in the previous war of 1648-1651. These activities were never lost sight of the Bijapur Sultan. Thus a complete change took place in Karnataka. Lastly Tirumala Nayaka of Madura, foreseeing the danger in the closer understanding of Kanthirava and Sriranga appealed to the Muslims for help.[4]

<u>Wars with Mysore</u>: At this stage Khan Muhammad set out from Bad-kot to put down Kanthirava of Mysore in Jagadeva country. Shahji actively cooperated with Khan Muhammad in conquering Jagadev country, Vellore and Mysore.[5] Khan Muhammad marched into Jagdev country and reconquered all the forts.[6] Then he attacked Krishnagiri

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1. M.N. in Modern Review for Nov.1929, P.502.
2. Annals, I. P.70; Wilks: History of Mysore, Vol.I. pp.64-65; C.Vam., P.36; C.Vij., II, 128-129; Mys.Dho.Pur., II. 18-21.
3. Wilks spells the name as "Eitebal Rao". The Annals calls him 'Tirumala Raya' apparantly an error.
4. R.Satyanatha Aiyar: Nayaks of Madura, P.131; M.N. in Modern Review, 1929, P.132.
5. Sardesai Com. Vol., P.77.
6. M.N. in Shiv.Nib., II, P.133; M.N. in Modern Review for Nov.1929, P.502.

which was strongly garrisoned by Kanthirava. After conquering this fort, Khan Muhammad entered Mysore and attacked the fort of Kanthirava who took flight for life. Then he captured four other forts.[1]

In the meanwhile Mir Jumla induced Sriranga to go back to his capital to reconquer his former possessions. Sriranga Raya, relying upon the promises of Mir Jumla had risen against Adil Shah of Bijapur[2] in Vellore. Again a farman reached that Sriranga Raya had sent Mir Jumla to the Moghals for help and so he should be punished.[3]

Khan Muhammad, taking the order of his king, marched towards Vellore. Siddi Masud was despatched against Dasarajaiya,[4] the Dalvoy of Kanthirava, who was operating at Kaveripatam to drive out the Bijapuris from Jagadev country. In a sanguinary action fought at Kaveripatam in October 1653 Dasarajaiya was beheaded.[5]

Khan Muhammad marched towards Vellore. On the approach of the Khan's army, Sriranga Raya fled in terror. Though the fort was defended by the army of Sriranga for some time yet at the end

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1. M.N.in Shiv.Nib., II, P.133; M.N. in Modern Review for Nov.1929, P.502.
2. M.N. in Modern Review, Nov.1929, P.502.
3. M.N. in Shiv.Nib., II, P.133.
4. Dāsarājaiya is spelt in Persian source as 'Das Raj'. Sarkar (Modern Review, 1929, P.502) spells his name as Des Raj.
5. M.N. in Modern Review, Nov.1929, P.502; M.N. in Shiv.Nib., II, 133. According to Annals (I, P.89) Dasarajaiya was removed from the office as he was not able to discharge his duties satisfactorily due to old age in Nov.1653. The former authority is preferred here.

it was surrendered. Sriranga made a treaty with the Khan according to which the former received Chandragiri with its dependencies.[1] Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali gives a brief picture of how Vellore and Chandragiri were given to plunder by the Bijapur army.[2]

The departure of Khan Muhammad for Vellore was a signal for Kanthirava to press forward the conquest of territories in the south. Accordingly Kanthirava conquered Satyamangala, Danayakankote from Venkatadri Nayaka ~~of Madura~~ in March 1654[3] and in April 1654 he acquired Hosur in the south-east from Chandrasekara Nayaka.[4]

The main army victorious at Vellore, proceeded to Madura in order to demand tribute from its Nayak. On arrival, Khan Muhammad pressed Tirumala for tribute.[5] Had he been a right type of man, well-versed in the politics of his age, would have fished in the troubled sea of politics in south India by coming in contact with the Nayaks of Gingee, Tanjore and the Raja of Mysore patching up all differences; and by the active cooperation of these all, would have put to rout the entire Bijapur army from the soil of Karnatak and settled the affairs of Sri Ranga up to the satisfaction

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1. Foster: English Factories in India (1655-60), P.XXXIII; M.N. in Modern Review, Nov.1929, P.502; Further Sources of Vijayanagara History, pp.355-356; C.Vam, P.172.
2. C.Vam; P.172. The name of Kanthirava is given as Chikkadeva which is wrong.
3. Annals, I. P.70; C.Vam., P.59.
4. Ibid; Wilks: History of Mysore Vol.I. P.66.
5. M.N., in Modern Review, Nov.1929, P.502.

of all. Tirumala who was too young to the politics of his age, had agreed to pay tribute , entered into negotiation with Khan Muhammad and requested him to declare war against Kanthirava of Mysore who invaded his border lands.[1] Considering Mysore army on his border land as a source of danger, Tirumala, known for unsound policy in politics went to the extent of begging the Commander to expel the invading Mysore army from his dominions.[2] Khan Muhammad who was prepared to undertake any hard enterprise for the sake of money, readily responded and directed his marches on to Mysore. The Mysore king being alarmed by the advancing tide of the Muslim army had despatched Balaji Haibat Rao, who had deserted the Adil Shahi Service to that of Mysore to encounter the army. Khan Muhammad, on the other hand had commissioned Siddi Masaud with a detachment to war with the Mysore army. In the action that followed, Balaji Haibat Rao was killed and his army put to flight. Thereupon, Khan Muhammad plundered pillaged, and burnt Mysore territory down 'to a heap of ashes'. "At this the Rajah of Mysore in mortal terror sent his envoy to the victorious Khan Muhammad, with an offer of submission, asking pardon for his offences and praying for safety. He promised to pay 'treasure beyond calculation' as an offering to Adil Shah and regularly deliver tribute every year. By order of Adil Shah, Khan

1. Proenza's letter, in Nayaks of Madura, P.267.
2. M.N., in Modern Review, Nov.1929, P.502.

Muhammad left the Mysore Rajah's devastated kingdom to him. The peshkash was realized by Khan Muhammad".[1]

The closer cooperation and goodwill of Bijapur with which Tirumala Nayaka waged war against the king of Mysore did not come to a happy termination. On the other hand, Tirumala was asked by Khan Muhammad to pay heavy sums as war-indemnity. Though it was a shock to him, yet he did not escape from the demand of the Khan for, the idea of the latter was not to leave the country without levying ransom on Tanjore and Madura. Thus, by extracting large amount of money from the Nayaks of the latter, Khan Muhammad returned home laden with riches.[2]

The results of this invasion were: (1) the pride of Kanthirava was crushed; (2) the frequent movements of the army in Mysore caused incalculable havocs to the material prosperity to Mysore; (3) the ambition of Kanthirava in extending his arms towards the Bijapur possessions in the north was checked; (4) Maratha possessions were free from the danger of Mysore; (5) the victory of Bijapur meant indirectly a victory to the Marathas; (6) enmity between the Marathas and the Mysoreans became bitter.

Shahji at Kanakagiri, 1653-1654: After his release, Shahji came to Kanakagiri, a place of great historical interest being in the region of dilapidated Vijayanagar.[3] In February 1653 the Sultan of Bijapur assigned Chikkaballapura to Shahji[4] and induced him to

1. M.N., in Modern Review, Nov.1929, P.502.
2. Proenza's letter in R.Sathyanath Aiyer's Nayak of Madura, P.267.
3. Sardesai: N.H.M., Vol.I, P.80.
4. Sarkar: House of Shivaji, P.81.

take care of the Bijapur possessions in Mysore.

Sambhaji was also with his father at Kanakagiri. But the affectionate son did not stand sharing in the sorrow and happiness of his father as he was soon victimised by the jaws of death. The reason for this was that a storm of rebellion broke out in Kanakagiri under its chieftain Appa Khan who cast his covetous eye on Doddaballapura, a part and parcel of Shahji's new Jagir in Mysore.[1] This news being communicated to Adil Shah, the latter immediately sent Afzal Khan with instructions to cooperate with Shahji in suppressing Appa Khan. Accordingly Afzal Khan came with an army; and in the encounter that followed, Sambhaji was killed. This tragic state of affairs was mainly due to the deliberate negligence on the part of Afzal Khan in not reinforcing Sambhaji at a critical hour of facing death.[2] The death of Sambhaji in 1654 was a terrible shock to Shahji.[4]

Thereafter Shahji returned to Bangalore, the capital city and dedicated his life for the betterment and upliftment of the Marathas.

Shahji and Sriranga Raya: In the great campaign of 1657 Shahji was sent by the Sultan of Bijapur to assist Srirangaraya. The need to despatch Shahji was that Mir Jumla, Qutb Shahi Minister had carved out a new kingdom[3] in Karnatak for himself and become

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1. Takakhav: Life of Shivaji Maharaj, pp.50-51; Sardesai: N.H.M. Vol.I, pp.80-81.
2. Sardesai: N.H.M., Vol.I, P.81.
3. Sarkar: Short History of Aurangzeb, P.33.
4. Shivaji's murder of Afzal Khan was just a revenge for his part in the death of Sambhaji.

refractory. To put down Mir Jumla, Qutb Shah joined Aurangzeb the viceroy of the Deccan near Hyderabad in March 1656.[1] Further Qutb Shah made friendship with Sriranga Raya and gave back all that he had conquered in his kingdom. With the support of Qutb Shah and the armies of the other Hindu chieftains (calculated to be 8000)[2] Srirangaraya captured Tirupati and other places.

Shahji came and joined Sriranga Raya. In the action that followed, Mir Jumla inflicted a crushing defeat on the combined army of Qutb Shah, Shahji and Sriranga Raya in September 1657 and the defeated army ignominiously fled in the direction of Arni - a strong castle on the borders of Gingee.[3] Shahji returned to Bangalore.

<u>Shahji defeated by the chief of Bangalore</u>: Soon after his return to Bangalore, Shahji had to face another overhanging danger. Mummadi Kempe Gowda, (1658-1678)[4] a strong and a resourceful ruler of yelahanka-nad, had never reconciled to the settlement of Maratha colony in Bangalore which once, belonged to his forefathers. Therefore Mummadi Kempe Gowda marched on Bangalore, and inflicted a crushing defeat on Shahji, who just returned to Bangalore from the previous war. This ignominious defeat towards the end of 1658

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1. Further Sources of Vijayanagara History, P.366; A History of Gingee and its rulers, P.176.
2. Foster: English Factories in India (1655-1660), P.92.
3. Ibid, P.136; Vij. Sex. Com. Vol., P.121.
4. Quarterly Journal of Mythic Society, Vol. XIII, P.732.

was another staggering blow to Shahji.[1] This defeat did not mean the complete extermination of the Marathas from Bangalore.

<u>Death of Kanthirava, 1659:</u> Kanthirava who was the bitter enemy of Shahji, passed away on July 31st 1659[2] in his forty-fifth year. His later years were unfortunately, misearable for he had lost his only son which heavily told upon his health. His country had suffered greatly by the devastating expeditions of the Bijapur generals. His efforts to exterminate the Marathas from Bangalore proved failure. Above all Sivappa Nayaka of Ikkeri and the Nayak of Madura were ever ready to encroach upon the territory of Mysore. Aflicted with all these mental tortures within and without, the last years of Kanthirava serve as a great and striking contrast to the dazzling brilliance of his earlier part of his rule.

<u>Extension of Kingdoms of Shahji and Kanthirava in 1659:</u> The territorial aggrandisement of Bijapur and Golkonda in Karnataka seemed to have been practically over towards the end of 1659.[3]

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1. Vīrabhadra Vijaya Champu by Ēkāmbara Dixita. This is a contemporary sanskrit work. The author was the court poet of Mummadi Kempe Gowda. The work which is mainly devoted to a description of the car festival of god Virabhadra of Savanta-durga, incidentally gives these important historical event. The text runs as follows:

   " Yo yam satsapta kritvorana bhuvi Shāhji rāja māji sajitva Hatva sainyantadiya dhwaja gaja patahachchatra mukhyanya grihnan".

   As the work seems to have been written during the early months of Mummadi Kempe Gowda's rule, I have fixed the date as 1658.
2. Mys. Dho. Pur., I. 56; Mys. Raj. Cha., 25; Annals, I. P.93; Cinnami in J.O.I.H., Vol.25, 1947, P.197; Raj. Kath, (XII.470-473) fixes Kanthirava's rule between 1635 -1660. The latter date for his death is apparantly wrong.
3. Orme: Historical Fragments, P.62. He says that the wars between Golkonda and Bijapur were over by 1654 in Karnataka. But the detailed study of the Muslim warfare in Karnataka reveals that the war continued unabated till 1659. Therefore it is in the fitness of things that the date can be shifted to 1659.

The Bijapur belt of territory to the north of the kingdom of Mysore, comprising Bangalore, Hoskote, Kolar, Doddaballapura, Chikkaballapura and Sira went under the designation of Karnatak-Bijapur-Balaghat, while the territory below the Ghauts, almost coterminous with the southern frontier of Mysore, under the designation of Karnatak-Bijapur-Payanghat, Shahji being continued in the entire track.

Kanthirava, at the time of his death, had extended his kingdom on the north, up to Channapatna and Turuvekere, coterminous with the Karnatak-Bijapur-Balaghat, while Channarayapatna had become his north-western limit; in the south he extended his kingdom as far as Danayakankote and Satyamangalam and in the south-east up to Kaveripatanam co-extensive with the Karnatak Bijapur-Payanghat; in the east he went to the border land of Jagadeva country while in the west he took a portion of the kingdom of the chengalvas (including Nanjarayapatna).

Accession of Doddadevaraja Wodeyar 1659-1672: Who was the actual successor of Kanthirava? What was his relationship to the Mysore Royal Family? These questions confront the historians of Mysore, because the sources are conflicting.[1]

With the death of the only son of Kanthirava towards the close of the latter's reign, direct descent in the line of Bettada Chamaraja Wodeyar ceased. The choice of succession fell on the

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1. See Appendix II

sons of Muppina Devaraja Wodeyar. The four sons of the latter, were Doddadevaraja, Chikkadeva Raja, Deva Raja and Marideva. Of these four sons Doddadevaraja succeeded to the throne of Mysore on August 19, 1659,[1] eighteen days after the death of Kanthirava. At the time of his accession he was quite young and energetic.

Political situation: The political equillibrium of south India was disturbed at a time when Doddadevaraja assumed the rulership of Mysore. The two great Bahamani Kingdoms, Bijapur and Golkonda which had divided their sphere of activities in swallowing up as much territories as possible in south India were drawn into the vortex of life-and-death struggle with Aurangzeb, the Viceroy of Deccan. The Karnatak possessions of Bijapur were left in the hands of Shahji who, with the closer cooperation and coordination of his Hindu Ministers and generals, was carrying on war on behalf of the Sultan of Bijapur and annexing as many territories as possible to his kingdom. Further Shahji was carrying out the transaction of business at Bangalore according to the instructions of the Sultan. Soon after the accession of Doddadevaraja, Shahji was away from the capital as he was commissioned by the Sultan of Bijapur to go to the support of Tanjore against the Nayak of Madura. In the north-west of Mysore Ikkeri was coming up as a prominent capital city under the progressive rule of Sivappa Nayaka (1645-1660). The last unfortunate ruler of the decadent Vijayanagara

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1. Mys. Dho. Pur., I. 57, II. 23 (compared): Vikari Bhadrapada su.12. Mys.Raj.Cha., (25) places the accession in Bhadrapada su.1 (Aug.9, 1659); Annals (I. 95) in Bhadrapada su.10 (Aug. 17, 1659); and the Raj. Kath. (XII. 475), in Sarvari Margasira ba.1 (December 7, 1660). The former authority is preferred here.

empire had left the kingdom and took shelter at the court of Sivappa Nayaka.

<u>Shahji in the war of 1659</u>: An attractive and colourful stage set in for Shahji in the year 1659. By resolving to refuse the annual tribute due to Bijapur, Muttu Virappa Nayaka who succeeded Tirumala Nayaka in 1659, focussed his attention on the fortifications of Trichinopoly. Lingama Nayaka was placed in charge of the fort.[1]

But Vijayaraghava Nayaka adopted a different policy towards the Muslims. By his treacherous, short-sighted and suicidal policy, the Nayak made Tanjore a victim to the aggressive jaws of the Muslims.[2] He appealed to Bijapur for help in order to prevent the Madura Nayak from fortifying Trichinopoly. The Sultan of Bijapur commissioned 'Sagosi' (Shahji) and 'Mula' (Mulla Muhammad) to Tanjore. The Bijapur army marched with rapid speed and reached Trichinopoly which was strongly garrisoned under Lingama Nayaka. Stricken with awe to see the "war like preparations of the Nayak at Tanjore", Shahji moved towards the east and delivered a surprise attack on Tanjore on March 19th, 1659.[3] Though the fort fell into the hands of Shahji and Mulla, yet they were greatly disappointed for the wealth of the fort was carried off by the Kallans.[4]

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1. Proenza's letter in "Nayaks of Madura", pp.269-270; Nayaks of Madura, P.151; The Nayaks of Tanjore by Vriddigirivasan, P.141.
2. The Nayaks of Tanjore, P.141; Proenza's letter in Nayaks of Madura, pp.269-270.
3. Ibid, P.142; Ibid, 270; Sardesai Com. Vol., P.77.
4. Proenza's letter in 'Nayaks of Madura', pp.270-271; The Nayaks of Tanjore, pp.142-143; Nayaks of Madura, P.152. Writing in Vij.Sec.Com.Volume, (P.121) D.B.Diskalar says that Shahji was repulsed from Tanjore for which there is no authority.

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The victors left Tanjore and laid siege to Trichinopoly. They found it hard to reduce and therefore they began to plunder the country. At last they were obliged to retreat receiving a moderate sum from the Nayaks of Madura and Tanjore[1] towards the end of 1659.

Doddadevaraja sought the help of Bijapur: The bitter hostility between Mysore and Bijapur seemed to have loosened during the reign of Doddadevaraja. While Shahji and Mulla were in the environs of Tanjore fighting the Nayak, Mysore was invested by the army of Sivappa Nayaka of Ikkeri. The main reason for the invasion of Mysore was that the peace offerings of Sivappa Nayaka in 1647 were turned down by the ruler of Mysore. This offended Sivappa Nayaka. Intent upon taking vengeance, the latter invaded Mysore with an army consisting of the chieftains of Sode, Biligiri, Tarikere and other places.[2] In the encounter that followed, the Mysore army under the Dalvoy, Hamparajaiya was completely defeated at Grama (in Hassan) in September 1659. Hamparajaiya became a prisoner.[3] Highly elated at the success, Sivappa Nayaka proceeded in the direction of Mysore. On the way he took Lakshmappa Nayaka of Holenarasipura. Throwing across the rapidly flowing Cauvery a

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1. Proenza's letter in 'Nayaks of Madura', pp.272-273; The Nayaks of Tanjore, P.144; Nayaks of Madura, P.153; Vij.Sex.Com.Vol., P.121; Sardesai Com.Vol, pp.76-77; House of Shivaji, pp.73-74.
2. C.Vam., pp.172-173; C.Vij., V, 18; Ke.N.V., VII. 144; Raj. Kath., XII, 176.
3. Ke.N.V., XII. 114; V. 38-43. Dr.S.K.Aiyangar (Ancient India, P.297; Sources of Vijayanagara History, P.21), R.Satyanath Aiyer (Nayaks of Madura; P.172), without taking into account that Doddadevaraja and Sivappa Nayaka were contemporaries, assign the event to have taken place in the latter part of Devaraja's reign or early in the reign of Chikkadeva. This is not correct.

bridge, the entire combined army crossed the river and began to block the fort of Srirangapatna in October 1659.[1] In the face of the besiegers, the guards at Srirangapatna were confounded. Not knowing what to do during the unexpected siege of the fort, Mysore sought the assistance of Bijapur. In response to their appeal, the Sultan of Bijapur despatched Bahlul Khan.[2] Realising the critical situation that might arise by the alliance of Mysore and Bijapur, Sivappa Nayaka made Bahlul Khan who had arrived at Srirangapatna retreat to the place wherefrom he had come most dramatically.[3] The victory which Sivappa Nayaka was about to win was turned into defeat as the generals of the Ikkeri army were won over by the Mysoreans by means of bribery and performing rites and ceremonies.[4] Thereafter Sivappa Nayaka returned to his country in January 1660 achieving nothing tangible at Srirangapatna.[5] The defeat seems to have heavily told upon the health of Sivappa Nayaka and the latter passed away on September 25th, 1660.[6]

Shahji in the Trichinopoly war of 1660: By the time Shahji came to Bangalore much water had been flown over and under the bridge. The siege of the fort of Srirangapatna was in progress;

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1. Ke.N.V., VII. 115; V.45-46; C.Vij., V, 18-19; Mys.Raj.Cha.25; Annals, I. 98.
2. Ken.N.V., VII. 115, V.45-46: Yuddha mukhadōl nittarisalammade tamma sahāyakke Vijāpuradim sainyam versa Balūl (Bahlul) Khānanam teralchi talal.
3. The retreat of Bahlul Khan was made possible by Sivappa Nayaka, for as we know, that the latter is closer to Bijapur than Mysore. Further Ikkeri remained long under the control of Bijapur.
4. Ke.N.V., VII. V.46; Wilks: History of Mysore, Vol.I. P.69.
5. Ibid; Mysore Archaeological Report, 1942, P.88.
6. It is stated in the 'Nayaks of Ikkeri' (P.94) that the Mys.Arc. Report for the year 1942, P.88 makes reference to the defeat Sivappa Nayaka by Komarayya without any evidence. But it is based on "Dynasty of Kalale".

Bahlul Khan was camping on the environs of Mysore in order to support Doddadevaraja against the besiegers. Shahji thought that it was not good to interfere in the affairs of Mysore and remained aloof.

The affairs of the south again drew the attention of the Sultan of Bijapur who despatched Shahji to bring the worsening situation to control. Shahji set out and soon encamped at Gingee.

Chokkanatha Nayaka, the successor of Muttu Virappa Nayaka of Madura launched forth a new project. The main object with which he laid-out this daring project was "to reestablish the ancient king of Bisnagar (Vijayanagara) in his country, to give Gingee to its Nayak and thus to remove the evils that had resulted from the mistaken policy of Tirumala Nayaka.[1]

Accordingly Dalvoy Lingama Nayaka was commissioned at the head of a large army of 40,000 to drive out Shahji who was encamping then at Gingee.Lingama Nayaka was bribed by the Bijapur general to waste the royal treasure in a long and fruitless campaign. In Madura, the Brahman regent and the Secretary hatched a plan to end the life of Chokkanatha and to instal his brother on the throne. The news of the secret plot was disclosed to the Nayak by a lady of his court and he lost no time in taking a bold action. By exhibiting courage and resourcefulness far above his age, he got the eyes of the Brahman regent plucked out and the

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1. Proenza's letter - Nayaks of Madura, pp.273-274.

Secretary assassinated. Being too weak to stand in opposition to Lingama Nayaka, he pretended friendship only to capture him a prisoner at a suitable opportunity. But Lingama whose conscience rendered him suspicious joined Shahji and persuaded him to besiege Trichinopoly. Accordingly he started with 12,000 foot and 7,000 horse to attack Trichinopoly. The ruler of Tanjore also promised help in their endeavour, Chokkanatha Nayaka with an army of 50,000 defended the fort ably and put the combined army to flight. Shahji and Lingama lost heart and fled for life to Tanjore, the Nayak of which received them warmly. Encouraged by the brilliantly successful campaign, Chokkanatha Nayaka, with an increased army of 70,000 marched on Tanjore to punish the Nayak for having favoured the traitorous invasion of Shahji and Mulla. Vijayaraghava incapable of defence submitted to him without any opposition while Shahji and Mulla hurriedly retreated to Gingee.[1] This occured in 1660.[2]

Shahji exhibited in the campaign of 1660 a rare courage, and deep diplomacy. Being resourceful and well-skilled in military expeditions, he realised very early the grave consequence of a powerful combination by the Nayak of Madura with the Nayak of Tanjore. The powerful combination under the leadership of the Nayak of Madura for the restoration of Sriranga Raya was a serious threat to the

1. Proenza's letter - Nayaks of Madura, pp.274-275; The Nayaks of Tanjore, P.145; Nayaks of Madura pp.155-156; House of Shivaji, pp.74-75; Sardesai Com. Vol., P.77.
2. Since these events are found in the letter of Proenza dated A.D.1662, the invasion of Madura on Tanjore must have taken place in 1660. C.S.Srinivasachari writing on "A Great Maratha Service to South India in the Pre-Shivaji epoch" in Sar.Com.Vol., pp.76-77 also assigns the date A.D.1660 for this invasion.

interest of Karnataka possession of Bijapur. Realising the imminent danger from such a project, Shahji broke up the combination cleverly seducing the Tanjore ruler.[1] Though he was repulsed, he did all that could save his possessions from the possible encroachment of the Nayak of Madura.

Shahji conquered Tegnapatam and Porto Novo: The year 1661 found Shahji near Tegnapatam with ambitious design to effect the conquest of Tegnapatam and other places dependent on it. Mir Jumla quitted the stage of Golkonda to Hindusthan. With him went the serious obstacle which barred the ambitious project of Shahji in the south. In the absence of such serious Muhammadan opposition, Shahji began to fish. He succeeded in conquering the fort of Tegnapatam (Cuddalore) and important fort of Porto Novo, the base of his operations against Tanjore kingdom. This was an outstanding achievement of Shahji.[2]

Visit of Shahji to Poona 1662.

The vigorous activities of Shivaji and his increasing powers in about 1660 had not escaped the attention of Bijapur Sultan who, deliberately employed Shahji to bring about a reconciliation with Shivaji. Shahji paid a visit in the early part of 1662 Poona and urged his son not to cause any disturbance to the peace and tranquillity of the Sultan's kingdom as after all, the latter had been their bread giver upon whose salt they had thrived. Shivaji

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1. Sardesai Com. Vol., P.77.
2. Sar. Com. Vol, P.77; Vij. Sex. Com. Vol., P.121.

agreed to the proposals of his father and requested permission to form a formidable confederacy against the Mughals. In spite of this Shivaji had to attempt the conquest of Panhala, an important fort, from the Bijapur Sultan in March 1673 because of stragetic importance.

Shahji who had had a rich experience of forty years of Deccan warfare had vast amount of useful instructions to give to his son who was amply benefitted by this instruction in the arts of Government diplomacy and war. Shahji seems to have said nothing about the attitude of Shivaji towards the Mughals as they were in possession of Poona and Kalyan. Proposing a long tour, the father and the son found an extensive plateau of Rairi near Mahad as the suitable place for the fixation of the capital of future Maratha kingdom against the aggressions of the Mughals. When the hill was strongly fortified, it figured as Raigad, the best Maratha capital.[1]

After a full and frank association for only a few months together, Shahji returned to Bangalore towards the close of 1662.[2]

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1. Sardesai: New History of the Marathas Vol.I, pp.82-83.
2. Sardesai: New History of the Marathas Vol.I, P.83 says that the father and the son parted early in 1663. Shahji does not seem to have stayed such a long time in the company of his son, inspecting his old Jagirs and selecting a suitable place for the establishment of a capital of future Maratha kingdom as has been stated by Sardesai, because, his presence was urgently needed in the Mysore kingdom as many of the enterprising and ambitious chieftains were looking forward to assert independence making use of his absence. Therefore it is in the fitness of things that Shahji must have left his old Jagir towards the close of 1662 spending a few months in the company of his son. We do not find any reference to this in the Jedhe Chronology (mentioned in Shivaji Souvenir).

Shahji in Bednur 1662-1663: The Adil Shah of Bijapur, having lent his ears to the reports of the agents of Sode[1] who were hostile to Bednore kings, had decided to fit out an expedition to crush the over-grown might of Bhadrappa Nayaka. Shahji seems to have been considered by the Sultan as the best person to undertake this hazardous task. Accordingly Shahji had been entrusted with the responsibility of undertaking this expedition into Bednore territory. With him were the other Bijapur Generals such as Bahlul Khan, Sharaja Khan and others. At the head of a force consisting of elephants, horses and infantry, Shahji started for the invasion.[2]

Bhadrappa Nayaka, having resorted to retaliatory measures despatched a strong army under the command of Jatapana Bhadrapa brother of Sivappa Nayaka; and he came and halted at Bhuvanagiri. In the fierce and bloody battle that was fought near Ambaligolla, between the two armies, Jatapana Bhadrapa took flight and his army was put to rout. Being successful in putting to rout the entire Bednore army, the Muslim army under Shahji, making rapid marches devastating places which came across them, passing through the valley of Bilusagara, came and encamped in the neighbourhood of Bednore. Afterwards, it laid siege to the fort and took possession of it. The Bijapur Sultan, coming all the way from Bijapur, alighted

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1. Ke.N.V., VIII, 120, V.7: Sōdeyavarkalusirda piryādiyanure kēldu Vijayāpuradadhināthām.

2. Ibid., V.8: Karituraga pattisahitam vara Shāhji Balūla Khāna Saidavilāsam verasida Sharajākānana niradallinda teralchi.

in the palace of the fort of Bednore.[1]

Halting in the gorgeous palace of Bednore, the Sultan conducted the siege. Shahji and other Vaziers were despatched again to effect the conquest. Obedient to the orders of the Sultan, Shahji invested the fort of Bhuvangiri with all his army. Bhadrappa Nayaka stood boldly and courageously against the onslaught of the Muslim army. With undaunted courage, resourcefulness and unflinching determination, Bhadrappa Nayaka collected his scattered forces and blocked all the passes big and small and all the communications internal and external. Before this well conducted defence of Bhadrappa, Shahji and other Vaziers were forced to retrace their steps from the scene of action. The hostility was terminated by the conclusion of a treaty with the Sultan of Bijapur through the mediation of Huvaiya.[2] The details of the war have not found expression in Sivatatva Ratnakara[3] though it is in complete agreement with the main outlines of Ke.N.V. The Dutch sources, however, mention that an indemnity of 150,000 pagodas was fixed.[4]

<u>Defeat of Shahji at Bangalore (March 1663)</u>: In Mysore Dalavoy Kantaiya was succeeded by Nandinathaiya in April 1662.

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1. Ibid., V.9: Bhadrapa Nāyakam Jatapana Bhadrapanoḍanagaṇita sēnā samuchamam teraḷchi biḷkottu, tām bhu-vanagiriyaḍurgadōḷnilambali goḷade baḷiyōl .... yuddham pannalāvēḷeyōl Jathapana Bhadrapanam muridaturaska sainyamati tīvragatiyim dālivariyuttaidi ...vēṇu-purada paristaranakke muttigeyanikki talparistharanamam koḷal, pintani paṭusāhanaitandu vēṇupurada kōnteyaramaneyoḷiḷiḍu.
2. Ke.N.V., VIII, V.9: Baḷikkam Shāhji saidavilāsa Sarjākhāna muntāda vajeeraram sainyaverasu teralchalavargalaitandu giriya-ḍurgamam veḍaisal, Bhadrapanāyakam dhairyagundade nittarisi ninḍu hēraḷavāda sainya samūhamam nerahi patha paika kanḍi kaṇivegaḷam kaṭṭi .... yuddhamam rachisi yavanasainyavam puḍigaisi Sarjā-khāna saidavilāsa Shāhji muntādavaram pindegesi palāyanangoḷisi baḷikkum Hūvayya muntāda niyōgigaḷam kaluhi sandhānavanoḍarchisi

(for foot note 3 and 4 please see next page)

Nandinathaiya's vigorous activities for the forcible seizure of Shahi kingdoms has roused the attention of the Bijapur general; and in particular never allowed Shahji to remain idle and unconcerned spectator. It is said that it is a great error in politics to remain idle and unconcerned spectator.

True to this theory, Shahji was making elaborate preparation to deal with Nandinathaiya who took Chikkanayakanahalli[1] without much opposition. This easy success served as an impetus and filip to Nandinathaiya to carry on war even into Bangalore. The Mysore Archaeological Report of 1942,[2] relying on the Kaifiyat of the dynasty of Kalale, the original of which is in Kannada says that "Dalavoy[3] demanded tribute from Chikka Kempe Gowda.[4] But the latter offered war and was totally defeated and captured prisoner. The palegars who had come to give him aid were all beaten. Gaganagiri was occupied & treasure in the palace of Chikka Kempegowda was looted. The neighbouring palegars were subdued and made tributary. Shahji of

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3. S.T.Ratnakara, VIII, 2.
4. Batavia Dagh Register, 1664, P.320.

1. Annals, I, P.97. This work says that it was conquered by Golkonda Sultan. But Chikkanayakanahalli first, conquered by Bijapur and was given to Shahji. Lately it was attacked by Ikkeri and then Nandinathaiya took possession of it. Wilks,I, P.36; Mys.Arch.Rep. 1942, P.89. rightly says that Chikkanayakanahalli belonged to the Muhammadans of Bijapur.

2. Mys.Arch.Rep. pp.89-90.
3. In the report of 1942 it is stated that Dalavai Kumaraiya had proceeded to Bangalore. But this is wrong according to Annals and other Kannada corroborative sources which say that from 1662-1667 Nanjanathaiya was holding the post of Dalavoyship. Further it says that he attacked Shahji Rao of Bangalore but Shahji was dead in 1664 and therefore he was no more at the time of Kumarayya coming to the office. Therefore it should be read as Nanjanathaiya.
4. Annals, I, P.97, [redacted]. As the manuscript is very short it refers only to the siege of Gaganagiri & Bangalore.

Bangalore was next attacked and his elephants, horses and belongings were all taken possession of. Those who submitted were given protection and their insignias and tributes were accepted.[1]

The main object in launching forth this invasion was to plunder the treasures of Shahji but not to dislodge him altogether.

Confinement of Shahji, 1662: The consequence of the attitude of Shahji after his humiliating defeat at Bangalore was that he was arrested by the Sultan. The main reason for his arrest was that Shahji became unruly and seems to have been going out of the way set in by the Sultan in conducting wars in Mysore kingdom. The unruly conduct of Shahji led the Sultan to proceed to Bankapur where he urgently summoned both Shahji and Bahlool Khan. Soon after their arrival, they were put in fetters.[2] Shahji was, however released after two days and was commissioned to march against the ruler of Bednore[3] who had unfurled the standard of revolt relegating to the background the treaty concluded in the recent war through the mediation of Huvaiya.

Death of Shahji 1664.

It is curious that most of the Maratha historians so far have not located the exact place of the death of Shahji. Relying on some of the Bakhars which do not supply the lucid account of

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1. Mys. Dho. Pur., P.21: Bengalūru Shāhji rāyanamēle dandetti yavana āne kudureyam vididu mugugalam koyisi yi Bengalūru ādiyada suttana sthalagalanella rigu abhaya pradhānavam kottu, yi Bengalūranm kattikondu, alli yidda āyudha pirangigalanmu vasa pratnimādikondu.
2. English Records on Shivaji, No.67 of 20th July, 1663; Balakrishna: Shivaji the Great, P.94.
3. Sardesai: N.H.M., Vol.I, P.83.

the latter part of the life of Shahji, They assign Baswapatna as the place where in Shahji's accidental fall brought his death. Referring to the death of Shahji, Grant Duff[1] says: "On Shivaji's return, he heard the death of his father which happened by an accidental fall from his horse, when hunting in January 1664 at the village of Baswapatna". This account has been repeated in Prof.Balakrishna's account of Shahji's death in 'Shivaji the Great'. Sardesai whom we know as the great authority on Maratha history has fallen into the same error. He[2] says:

> "Shahji was sent against the Nayak of Bednore who had rebelled. After accomplishing his commission within a few months, he started for Bangalore. While halting at Basvapatna on the way he heard of some game in the vicinity and rode out for a hunt of which he was very fond. While following an ante lope his horse's foot got entangled in a hole bringing down both the horse and the rider, the latter dying instantly".

It is found to be incorrect in all respects since the Brindavan and epitaph of Raja Shahji have been found now.

It is true that Shahji was despatched against Bhadrappa Nayaka of Ikkeri who became refractory. But Bhadrappa Nayaka was tottered at the advancing army of Shahji and was easily submitted to the superior force. After accomplishing the commission, he

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1. History of the Maharattas, Vol. I, P.160.
2. N.H.M., Vol. I, pp.83-84.

granting Yergatanahalli for maintaining worship at the pavilion.[1]

Shahji's fame has, like Hamilear's been overshadowed by that of his more famous son. Nevertheless the achievements, neither of Hannibal nor of Shivaji, could well have been accomplished but for the work done by their fathers before. Hamilcar, from his Sicilian stronghold, demonstrated to his countrymen that by unity and good generalship carthaginian army could withstand the strong Roman army. Shahji first showed several Hindu chieftains that crowd the columns of sotth India that by unity Hindu troops under a Hindu leader could strike terror into and defeat the picked forces of Delhi or Bijapur.

Conclusion: A study of Shahji's activities in Karnataka brings to light that he occupied a foremost place in the galaxy of the prominent personalities of the 17th century. A stream of Bijapur invasion across the Tungabhadra into Karnataka had brought Shahji and the latter had showed himself the ultimate saviour of the Hindu cause. He was particularly friendly to the army-chief of Bijapur, Ranadulla Khan. Having occupied a second place in the command of the Bijapur army, Shahji invaded the Bednur kingdom and occupied its capital as well as a half of his kingdom (1637-1638). In the Karnataka expedition (1638-1639) Shahji's mind was wrinkled to see the treacherous murder of Kasthuriranga Nayaka, the chief of

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3. the stone is broken. The original word was evidently "Samadhi" at Rahut Ramappa's epitaph which is close by.

1. Mys.Arch.Report, 1940. pp.58-59; Sardesai: New History of the Marathas Vol.I, P.84.

started his return journey to Bangalore. While halting at Hodigere,[1] he heard that wild beasts were giving lot of trouble to the neighbours. The Raja who was about 60 years old, went out on horse back to hunt these creatures. During the course of the hunt his horse's foot got entangled in a hole in the ground and both horse and the rider fell, the latter dying instantly. Linganna Kavi[2] says that Shahji died of a disease in the neighbourhood of Sira while he was on his way from Tanjore to Bijapur. As mentioned by Jedhe, the date of Shahji's death was saturday the 6th of Magha suddha of the year Subhakrit corresponding to the Saka year 1585. This corresponding to the English date 23rd January 1664.

Shahji's funeral ceremony was conducted by Ekoji, his son. Soon after this Ekoji got a confirmation sanction of Adil Shah of Bijapur to the heritage of his father. The joy of Shivaji, for having sacked Surat which gave him lot of fund for furtherance of his object was marred at the tragic news of the death of his father. Jija bai wanted to become Sati but was prevented by the great exertions made by Shivaji. Shivaji got a pavilion or chatri[3] put up at the place of his father's death. Adil Shah issued a Sannad

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1. Hodigere is village, 6 miles to the east of Chennagiri, 12 miles to the west of the Holalkere Railway station and a mile to the north of the Bhadravati-Chitaldrug road. It is 25 miles from Basavapatna. Hodigere is in Chennagiri Taluk and Shimoga district. See Mys.Arch.Report, 1940, pp.58-59.
2. Ke.N.V. Ch.IX., P.152. I have preferred here the former event.
3. The Archaelogists of Mysore during their course of tour in Chennagiri Taluk of Shimoga district of the Mysore State discovered that the place of Shahji'sdeath was really Hodigere. It was there Shahji's Brindavan or tomb was found along with indisputable epigraphic evidence of its identity in the shape of an inscription, in the Kannada language and Kannada characters worded thus:- First line .... Sri Shaji
Second line .... Rajana Sa After 'sa'

(contd. in the next page)

Sira, by Afzal Khan in the course of an attempted negotiation. But for the timely intervention of Shahji, the kingdom of Sira would have been parcelled out. Fortunately Shahji saved Sira; and it was handed over to Hanumappa Nayaka of Basavapatna. Bangalore was next invaded and its keeper, Kempe Gowda was forced to submit. Even here the hand of Shahji could be distinctly seen in setting the terms of the treaty between R.D.Khan and Kempe Gowda. According to this treaty Kempe Gowda went and took up his residence at Magadi. R.D.Khan who had been the intimate friend of Shahji, had handed over Bangalore to the latter with the sanction of the Sultan of Bijapur. The next target of attack was Srirangapatna, the seat and centre of Kanthirava Narasaraja of Mysore. Shahji saw here to his utter bewilderment the firm resolution and determined effort of Kanthirava in offering stubborn resistance to the invading force of Bijapur. When the fort of Srirangapatna fell, Kanthirava was terror-stricken; Shahji intervened and proposed terms to the satisfaction of either parties namely Kanthirava and R.D.Khan. According to the treaty of Srirangapatna signed on January 21st, 1639, territories lying to the north of Cauvery went to Bijapur and the territories lying to the south of the river remained to Kanthirava. Though Kanthirava agreed to the humiliating treaty in his distress, he never thought of fulfilling it, as his subsequent attitude showed clearly. The failure to carry out the agreement and the refractory conduct on the part of Kanthirava may be regarded as the root

cause for the enmity between Shahji on one side and Kanthirava on the other. This enmity continued unabated. Shahji again distinguished himself in the attack on Hanumappa Nayaka of Basavapatna. In 1644 Shahji contrived to earn further honours by forming a great confederacy of the local Nayaks, several Maratha and Muslim chiefs against Sivappa Nayaka of Ikkeri who vastly increased the material prosperity of his kingdom. Sivappa Nayaka capitulated the fort and submitted to Shahji. But in 1645 the triumphal march of Shahji suffered an eclipse. He cooperated with Nanjunda Raja of Piriyapatna against Mysore. In the fierce battle that was fought near Piriyapatna Shahji was completely defeated and driven out by the Mysore army under Nanjarajaiya. In the Mustafa's Karnataka expedition of 1646, Shahji went and joined Mustafa Khan near Honnali and induced him to direct his march on Turuvekere, the northern limit of Mysore, ostensibly to avenge the humiliation done to him at Piriyapatna. But all the high hopes of Shahji were upset when Nanjarajaiya, the Dalvoy of Mysore went at the head of a large force and inflicted a crushing defeat on the besieging army at Turuvekere. When Vellore was invested by the Bijapur army, Shahji was commanding the right wing of the army. In February 1647 Vellore was taken by the combined forces of Bijapur and Golkonda. During the following months, Mustafa Khan proceeded to Srirangapatna along with Shahji but was compelled to withdraw. Then they conquered Channarayapatna, Hassan and other places in Mysore and Tumkur and retreated. Mustafa Khan left Shahji in charge of the conquered country and left for Bijapur.

In the great campaign of 1648 Shahji found that the Bijapur

army, instead of helping Tirumala Nayaka of Madura, was actually in league with Golkonda. This offended Shahji, who consequently prolonged the siege. Mustafa Khan who feared that Shahji had been trying hard to form of confederacy consisting all the chiefs of the south against Bijapur, decided to arrest him. His release from prison must have been due to the defeat of the two Bijapur armies - one at Sinhagad by Shivaji and another at Bangalore by Sambhaji - that were sent by the Sultan of Bijapur; also due in some measure to the deathof Mustafa Khan and partlydue to the threatening attitude of the Moghals.

In 1651 Shahji fought with Mir Jumla of Golkonda and defeated him. This enhanced the reputation of Shahji. In 1652 Shahji cooperated with Khan Muhammad in conquering Jagadeva country, Mysore and Vellore. In this campaign Mysore was reduced to ashes. In the campaign of 1657 Shahji fought on behalf of Sriranga Raya against Mir Jumla but was utterly defeated by the latter. Shahji retreated to Bangalore wherefrom he had come. Towards the end of 1658 Shahji suffered another discomfiture at the hands of Mummadi Kempegowda of Magadi. Then Shahji took his own ally of Tanjore into the task, assaulted his capital and took possession of territories dependent on it. In 1660 Chokkanatha Nayaka of Madura formed a great confederacy in order to place Sriranga Raya to his original position by reconquering all the countries that last to Bijapur. Shahji broke up the combination by cleverly seducing the ruler of Tanjore. In the following year Shahji conquered Tegnapatam and Porto Novo. Shahji took part in the war of 1662-1663 against Bhadrappa Nayaka of Ikkeri and terminated the hostility between

Bijapur and Ikkeri by concluding a treaty. His last years were miserable, for Nandinathaiya, the Dalvoy of Mysore renewed the traditional policy of hostility, attacked Shahji in Bangalore in 1663 and took all his insignias of royalty. In 1664 Shahji died at Hodigere after a rule of 25 years in Mysore. The Shiva Bharata, says in a summary form on which J.N.Sarkar placed high value:

"Afterwards along with the commander-in-chief this great man (Shahji) ..... reached the Karnataka Mandala; he conquered Bednur. He also conquered Kenge Nayaka of Basavapatna; the ruler of Kaveripattinam; he likewise conquered the cruel Kanthirava of Srirangapattana. Then he overthrew the brave Vijayaraghava, the lord of Tanjore, as also the master of Gingee. He overthrew Tirumala Nayaka of Madura; the ruler of Pilugunda, Sriranga Raya, the ruler of Vijayanagar and then Tamme Gowda of Hamsakuta". Then follows that after a continuous fight for days and nights, "he took the delightful place, Bangalore, from Kempegowda who delighted in war, which was presented to him for his own maintenance by the delighted R.D.Khan. He, the victorious one(Shahji) resided in the city called Bangalore". Having established his authority firmly over Bangalore, Shahji inaugurated a new era of territorial conquests in Mysore and brought petty principalities therein under control. Out of these conquests he was clever enough to evolve a pretty big government for himself certainly under the authority of his overlords at Bijapur to begin with but gradually to become more or less entirely

his own in the event of the slackening control of Bijapur over these conquests.

Now it is possible to state that Shahji was not a subordinate officer acting only under the eyes and orders of the Sultan of Bijapur as has been held by J.N.Sarkar but a man occupying a position of considerable importance. Secondly Shahji stood a redoubtable enemy of the rulers of Mysore. In signing the treaty of Srirangapatna in 1639 Shahji showed great generosity and sympathy towards Kanthirava of Mysore but shortly thereafter hostility grew between the two prominent personalities. This was because of the failure on the part of Kanthirava to carry out the terms of the treaty and also of the policy of non-alignment that Kanthirava laid down in dealing with foreign powers. Of course Kanthirava and his successors showed from the beginning of their reign of a rare consistency of purpose and loyalty to the cause of the Vijayanagara empire which appear in refreshing contrast with the disloyal ruinous and suicial course of conduct pursued by the rest of the rulers of South India. But towards the Marathas the rulers of Mysore remained formidable enemies. Expediency and self-interest were the governing principles of the South Indian powers and Kanthirava was no exception to this rule. If Mysore cooperated with Shahji who took up the cause of the Vijayanagara empire, the history of Mysore and Maratha relations would have been different; and the highest hope of Shahji in formulating a great confederacy of the Hindus consisting of the Nayaks of Madura, Tanjore and Gingee and of the chiefs of Mysore, Kaveripattanam and Ikkeri would have

been realised and the maintenance of peace and order and above all the unity of south India could have been possible.

It would be rather incorrect to say that Shahji had no self-interest. Like many other chieftains of the south Shahji was mainly actuated by selfish motives in undertaking hazardous enterprizes. But his views were tempered by larger interest and broader outlook. He dreamed the vision of South Indian unity for the greater end of national preservation. But his gorgeous palace built in the air had tumbled down to the ground when he saw Mysore rising up in arms against him.

CHAPTER VI.

Maratha Viceroys in Mysore: Battle of Erode (1667).

Ekōji, Sambhāji, Vēdōji Pant and Anantōji were some of the prominent Marathas who were governing the conquered territories of Bijapur in the south as the Viceroys.

Career of Ekōji: Ekoji was entrusted with the tremendous responsibility of governing the Jagirs of his father in Mysore. Shahji had married two wives - Jijavai or Jiayi Jadhav by whom he had two sons, the elder Sambhaji and the younger Shivaji, and Tukabai or Tukaji Mohite who was the mother of Vyankoji or Ekoji.[1] Ekoji was born in A.D. 1630. Therefore he does not seem to have been much younger than Shivaji, if we take for granted that the latter was also born in the same year.[2] It is said that Shahji had bestowed great love and affection on the more attractive wife, Tukabai; and hence Jijabai, the first wife quietly remained at a distant place, being neglected by her husband. Ekoji thus grew under the warm affection and protection of his father.[3]

Ekoji seems to have possessed great military skill and tactics as is evident from his conquest of Sri Sailam in 1658.[4] As an young and enterprising prince, Ekoji had rendered great help

1. Ekoji is spelt differently: Venkajee in Duff, Vencaji in Elphinstone, Angojee or Ekojee in Scott, Eccojee in Wilks.
2. Balakrishna: Shivaji the Great, Vol.I, Part I, pp.180-181; K.R.Subraminiam: The Maratha Rajas of Tanjore, P.19.
3. Sarkar: Shivaji and His Times, P.21 (2 edition).
4. Balakrishna, P.144.

to his father, who had permanently established at Bangalore.[1] He actively cooperated with his father in the conquest of Tanjore in 1658; but a formidable confederacy of the local chieftains reversed theirexpectation and kept them away.[2] Ekoji accompanied his father where ever he went and participated in whatever events his father was involved. Unable to bear any longer the anti-Bijapur activities of Shivaji, the Sultan of Bijapur employed Shahji to mediate a peace with him. Accordingly Shahji proceeded to Poona in the year 1662 along with his son, Ekoji and brought about a reconciliation between the Sultan of Bijapur and his son Shivaji. Now Ekoji had the splendid opportunity of seeing the old Jagirs at Poona[3].

On the death of his father in 1664, Ekoji succeeded to the former's position and property in the south. This was confirmed by Adil Shah of Bijapur.[4] Ekoji, after getting the confirmation order from the Bijapur court, inagurated a rule much stronger than that of his father. Wilks says:

> "Ekoji assumed forms and demonstrations of royalty still more direct and pompous than those adopted by his father".[5]

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1. Kincaid and Parasnis: A.H.M.P., P.98; Grant Duff: H.M.P., Vol. I, pp.95-96.
2. Sardesai: N.H.M., Vol.I, P.82.
3. R.Satyanatha Aiyer: Tamilaham in the 17th century, P.92; Proceedings of the Indian Historical Congress, 1938, P.595. In this article, R.Satyanatha Aiyer, relying on Balakrishna's 'Shivaji the Great' Vol.I, Part I, says that Ekoji visited Jagir of Poona long with his father in 1663. Sardesai(Vol.I, pp.82-83) says that Shahji visited his Jagir in 1662. The latter authority is preferred here.
4. S.N.Sen: Shiva Chhatrapati, 231; Ar.Rep. of M. for 1909, P.25.
5. Wilks: History of Mysore Vol.I, P.48.

The rich experience that Ekoji gained in the administration as well as in the warfare by close association with his father had enabled him to face the problems of the day boldly and sagaciously. That Ejoji was qualified to succeed to the Jagir of Karnatak is proved by a stone epigraph correctly assigned to A.D. 1662 by Rice. In this record it is said that during the regime of Ekoji (Srimatu Enkoja Rajara aulvike (ya) li) the havaldar in charge of the fortress of Rahadurga was called Baranaji Raya.[1]

Therefore, it is evident that Ekoji was the Viceroy of the Kolar District in that year. He seemed to have ruled only for a short period, for in the subsequent year 1663, Sambhaji again comes on the scene as the Governor of Kolar.[2]

Ekoji followed the traditional policy of his father in granting villages and lands for the improvement of the administration of temple.

An inscription dated 1669 on the rock of south of the Mallesvara tample at Mallesvaram, Bangalore records that, on the application of the Maha nadu of Bangalore, Ekoji Raya granted Medaraninganahalli as a manya for the God Mallikarjuna of Mallapura.[3] Thus Ekoji had established his authority over Bangalore and its territories dependent on it and carried on the administration of

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1. Epigraphia Carnatica, X, Sd.47; P.185.
2. E.C. X, Kl. 219, P.63.
3. Archaeological Report of Mysore for 1909, P.25.
   Medaraninganahalli is about a mile to the east of Mallesvaram.

the country according to the instructions of the Sultan of Bijapur till he was commissioned by the latter to effect the conquest of Tanjore.

Sambhāji in Mysore.

Several inscriptions found in Mysore State particularly in Chikkaballapura, Dodda-Ballapura, Kolar and other places speak of the activities of Sambhaji, the Maratha. These inscriptions range from 1637 to 1680. The identity of this Sambhaji seems a difficult task; for, there are a number of prominent Marathas having the same name. For instance Sambhaji was the name given to the eldest sone of Shahji, the eldest brother of Shivaji the great. The name of the latter's eldest son was also Sambhaji. Another man from Kolhapur bore the same name; Shahji's brother-in-law (second wife's brother) was called Sambhaji Mohite; and one of Shivaji's officers was also called Sambhaji Kaviji.

Of these five personalities that figure mostly in Maratha history, who was the man that played a significant part in the politics of Mysore is to be decided satisfactorily. Sambhaji Kavji does not engage our attention as he cannot be the likely ruler alluded to in the inscription; and above all he does not seem to have been vested with any sovereign powers as the person under review. Sambhaji of Kolhapur does not come on the scene as he was born after the 17th century (i.e. A.D. 1712 - 1760). The other Sambhajis that are left here are the sons of Shahji and Shivaji and the brother-in-law of Shahji, with whom we are more concerned, as they had indisputable connections with the history

of Mysore.

We know clearly that Shahji was sent by the Sultan of Bijapur with Ranadulla Khan in order to effect the conquest of Mysore; and after the successful termination of the campaign, Shahji was granted Jagir in Mysore comprising of Bangalore, Dodda Ballapura, Sira and other places as a mark of his selfless service. Since 1639, Shahji had been residing at Bangalore which in course of time devloped into a historical city of great importance.

Shahji had two sons by his first wife Jija Bai, named Sambhaji and Shivaji. Sambhaji was born in A.D. 1619.[1] It is generally accepted that Sambhaji had lost his life in an attack on Kanakagiri in A.D. 1654.[2]

Sambhaji had been of great help to Shahji for he used to assist him in the administration. That Sambhaji came to light as assisting his father in Mysore at least from 1647 onwards can evidently be proved. Several inscriptions found in Mysore bear testimony to this fact. An inscription discovered at Hancarahalli, Dodda Ballapura Taluk, dated Wednesday, 3rd March 1647 states that "Sambhaji Raya granted Canna Basappa Vader (Wodeyar) of the Sajji Matha people's matha, the Hancipura village".[3] From this it is clear that he was ruling over Dodda Ballapura as the Governor; and to occupy this post he was sufficiently aged (28 years). It

1. Sardesai: N.H.M. Vol.I, P.41.
2. Ibid, P.81.
3. E.C. IX, D.B. 28, P.64, text P.78: Srimatu Vyaya Samvatsarada phalguna suda 7 Ma. 11u - Sāji matha Sambhāji Rāyanu Canna Basapa-Vadērige kotta Hancipura Yidake.

is to be noted that he was simply addressed as Sambhaji without giving any honorific title which was common among the several royal families of the age (Raya and so on). From this it can be infered that he was acting only as the representative of his father Shahji and till this year he was not granted any specific royal title. In 1650 a charitable grant was issued by Sambhaji in the district of Bangalore.[1] But in the year 1653 there appears to have been a change in the official status of the prince Sambhaji. He had assumed so many titles. The inscription found in the Kondipalli village, Mulbagal taluk, Mysore State, dated 1653 says that "the rājadhirāja rājarāja Sambhāji Rāja Mahārāja's son Kannarāyaji Pandita ...... buying Kondiganahalli, granted it to .... svati as a kattu-godagi".[2] Now Sambhaji was invested with almost full royal titles like Rajadhiraja, Raja raja, Maharaja. Further he had a son named Kannarayaji Pandita.

Why Sambhaji was granted these titles in A.D. 1653 needs inquiry. Though we have not got direct evidence on this point, yet we can make out the reasons for honouring Sambhaji with such royal titles. Firstly he was entrusted with the tremendous responsibilities of administering several districts in the Jagirs of his father and above all he was expected to lead an expedition into Kanakagiri[3] in the subsequent year against Appa Khan, its

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1. Wilks: History of Mysore, Vol. I, P.92.
2. E.C. X. Mb 154, P.111, text, P.132: Vijaya - Samvatsara kārtīka - bahula 11 lu srimad - rājādhirāja - rāja - rāja - śri Sambāji raja - mahārājara kumāra kannarayaji - pandita Śaka varusha - dāna dharma ....diganahalli vraya kondu ... vastige kotta kattu kodagi.
3. Kanakagiri has been known as a tirtha from the 10th century. See E.C. III, Ml.30, P.59. For its prominence in A.D. 1355, 1422 and 1492 see E.C. IV (1) Ch.153, P.20, Ch.150, P.20, and Ch.160, P.21 respectively.

chieftain. Spirited Sambhaji was further exalted with these roytal titles to equip himself for the task.

All the Maratha records agree in stating that Appa Khan, the chieftain of Kanakagiri unfurled the standard of revolt and cast a covetous eye on Dodda Ballapura, part and parcel of Shahji's Jagir. In orderto punish this refractory chieftain, Sambhaji was deputed. In the encounter that followed Sambhaji was killed due to deliberate negligence on the part of Afzal Khan to reinforce the prince at a critical juncture. This campaign took place in 1654[1]. It was this failure that drove this Shahji to reconquer Kanakagiri three or four years later.[2] A reference is made by Shahji in his letter dated 6th July, 1657 to the Sultan of Bijapur:

> "Your majesty, I had been deputed to the expedition against Kanakagiri and having carried out the mission successfully, was duly rewarded .... I also conquered for your State the districts of Anegondi and Kanakagiri".[3]

On this basis of this letter, R.N.Salatore writes that there was a second expedition against the chieftain of Kanakagiri which was led by Shahji in person either in 1656 or in the early

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1. Takakhav: Life of Shivaji Maharaj. pp.50-51; Grant Duff: History of the Maharattas, Vol.I, pp.146-147; Kincaid & Parasins: A.H.M.P., P.31; Sardesai: N.H.M. Vol.I, P.81 places the event in the subsequent year (1654). The latter authority is preferred. J.N.Sarkar: Shivaji & His Times (3rd ed) P.38, places the event in 1649.
2. R.N.Salatore: Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, Vol.13, 1939, P.58.
3. Sivaji Souvenir, P.138 text pp.115, 117 as cited by R.N.Salatore, op.cit.

part of A.D. 1657.[1] How Shahji was honoured for having conquered Kanakagiri is not known to us. On the whole it is evident that Kanakagiri did not remain a part and parcel of Shahji Jagir; on the contrary it was annexed to the kingdom of Bijapur.

The Kondipalli inscription issued in the year 1653 does not mention the death of Sambhaji, which would have been certainly mentioned, had the event taken place in that year. Therefore it can easily be inferred that the epigraph was issued prior to the alleged fatality.

Sardesai says that Sambhaji lost his life in an attack on Kanakagiri in 1654.[2]

Further an epigraph found at Muduvadi on a shrine near the sluice of Mallasandra tank in the Kolar taluk, Mysore State, dated 20th October 1654 states that " the Rajadhiraja rajamanya raja sri Sambhaji Raya Maharajarayya's agent for the border district of the Kolala sime, Kanayaja pant and others, on the Komatis of Kolala, abounding it, giving it, gave to Candara Tambarahalli Depa Ganda, land under the Muduvadi Mallasamudram tank with sasana for constructing it".[3]

From this account we can make out that the authority of the Marathas was fully established over the Kolar district. Secondly

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1. Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, Vol.13, 1939, P.58.
2. N.H.M. Vol.I, P.81.
3. E.C. X, Kl. 193, P.60, text, P.68: Jaya samvatsara da āsvija ba 5 Bra - lu - śrimad rājādhirāja rājamānya rājaśri Sambhōji Rāja Mahārāja raiyanavara Kār (yakartha) ru ... Kōlāla sīme sarahadalada Kanayaja pantaru modalādavaru Kolada Komati.

Sambhaji was not said to have issued the grant to Depa Ganda; on the contrary his agent figured prominently and was said to have been the chief grantor of the plot of land. If Sambhaji was really alive, as was the practice, there was no necessity to issue the grant in the name of his agent. Therefore it is clear that Sambhaji was dead by this time. It is also wrong to assume that Sambhaji was alive as far as 1663.[1]

R.N.Salatore says that "one of the epigraphs which specifically refer to Sambhaji as living for instance, in A.D. 1660 is one found at Gottehalli, Kolar taluk, Mysore State".

The author of the article has completely mistaken this Sambhaji, mentioned in the inscription of 1660. He was altogether different from the one mentioned already. Sambaji of 1660 inscription was the brother-in-law of Shahji as his sister Tuka Bai was married to him. How this Sambhaji came to Mysore?

Sardesai says:

> "Supa .... not far from Poona was held by a rather uncongenial neighbour, Sambhaji Mohite, a staunch loyalist of Bijapur and in addition an unfriendly relation of Shivaji, as his sister Tuka Bai was the second wife of Shahji. Sambhaji Mohite,

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1. R.N.Salatore writing in the Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, Vol.13, 1939, P.60 argues that if Sambhaji were not alive at that time, his successor's name should have been mentioned in the inscription. Relying on this particular point, he rejects the theory of the death of Sambhaji in the siege of Kanakagiri as unhistorical. He again says "The acceptance of his demise in this year is based almost entirely of Maratha Chroniclers none of whose accounts were contemporary in the sense in which the

(continued on the next page).

a hereditary noble of Bijapur, would not be persuaded to join Shivaji's movement nor enter his service .... one dark night Shivaji .... made a sudden raid upon Supa, surprized Sambhaji ...... and persuaded him to join his movement, but the proud man would not yield, Shivaji sent him under proper escort to his father at Bangalore."[1]

This event took place in 1652.[2] After the death of Sambhaji at Kanakagiri in 1654, this Sambhaji Mohite was appointed to the Governorship of Kolar. It may be argued that Mohite is not mentioned in the inscription to consider that he is different from the former. To this objection it may be said that the Karnataka people were not in the habit of calling their governors by their family name or it is likely they may not know the epithet 'Mohite'. They used to call him Sambhaji.

Therefore Sambhaji was placed to govern Kolar district. Let us see what the inscription says: Having the date of Friday, 5th October 1660, it says that"Sambhaji Raja granted land to Antraji pandita of Akaladarsa in Sugatur hobali".[3]

(continued from previous page)

inscriptions can be said to be contemporary. There is no extant Maratha chronicle which written in the last days of Sambhaji or his father Sahu or even of Sivaji, specifies in the clearest terms that Sambhaji perished in the onslaught against Kanakagiri; nor is there any account, either of an eye-witness, Hindu or Muslim, or even a foreign traveller, to corroborate the statement. The only historian of note who set this down as an accepted fact was Grant Duff, but the exact sources of information are neither accessible or known to us. The kanarese epigraphs, on the other hand, not only do they not refer to his death but speak of him as actually alive up to 1663 A.D."

1. N.H.M., Vol.I, pp.103-104.
2. Ibid, P.104.

(for foot-note 3 please see next page)

By making a comparative study of the two epigraphs it is possible to find out the approximate date, if not the exact date, of the appointment of Sambhaji to the governorship of Kolar. In the inscription of 1654 Sambhaji's agent is mentioned to have been the chief grantor of the land and in the inscription of 1660 Sambhaji is mentioned as the grantor of the land. Therefore it is probable that Sambhaji was sent to rule Kolar about A.D.1657. Another point we will have to note in this inscription 1660 is that honorific titles like rajadhiraja, raja Maharaja that were conferred upon Sambhaji, the son of Shahji, were not given to this Sambhaji. He is simply addressed as Sambhaji Rajaravaru. Therefore this Sambhaji must have been different, otherwise all the other titles would have been repeated in the inscription if he happened to be the same man. The word "Rajaravaru" also implies the royal position accorded to him most likely by Shahji who was at Bangalore and also great regard and respect that the people of Kolar showed to him.

It is very interesting to note that Sambhaji, in course of time, assumed all titles.

An epigraph found at Holur hobli, Kolar taluk, dated Friday, 1st May 1663 says that

> "the rajadhiraja rajashri Sambhaji Raja Saheb gave to Alambigiri Tippi Setti and Varanasi Cenne Gauda, a kodige sasana".[1]

(from previous page)

3. E.C. X, Kl 176, P.57, text, P.64: śarvari samvatsarada Aśvija suddha 12 lu srimatu Sambōji Rājaravaru Sugaturu hobaliya Akaladarasaya Antarāji panditaru vritti vandu Samba

(for foot-note 1 please see next page)

Now it can no longer be disputed that Sambhaji had permanently established his rule over Kolar and assumed all the other titles befitting ~~to~~ his royal position. Further he was graced with the honorific 'Sahebaru' which was denied to Sambhaji, the son of Shahji. Moreover he seems to have assumed more form and grandeur in the administration of his district.

Sambhaji seems to have died in 1663 for no inscription bearing his name has been discovered as having been issued after 1663. The death of Sambhaji in 1663 and his brother-in-law Shahji in 1664[1] induced most of the districts in the Karnatak to throw off the rule of the Marathas and assert their independence. Such a move on the part of several districts must have taken fairly a long time because Shivaji had commenced the reconquest of these Karnatak possessions 14 years later.

Thus Bijapur territories in Karnataka came to be ruled by different Maratha Viceroys.

Doddadeva Raja's relations with Sriranga Raya: Ever since the exit of Tirumala, the Vijayanagara Viceroy at Srirangapatna, the rulers of Mysore, some times acknowledged the suzerain power as loyal servants and at other times, openly threw off the imperial yoke as is evident from a study of their epigraphical records.

(from previous page).

1. E.C. X, Kl 219. text, P.72: Vijayābhyudaya sālivāhana saka varusangalu 1585 s'obhakruta samvatsarada vaisaka su 5 lu srimad rājādhi rāja rājasri Sambhāji Rāja Sahebaru Alambagiri Tippi Setti Varanāsi Canne gaudagu kotta ... kodage sāsana...

1. Sardesai: N.H.M. Vol.I, pp.83-84.

The rulers of Mysore followed in the foot-steps of their contemporaries like the Nayaks of Madura, Tanjore and Gingee in adjusting their relations with the later Vijayanagara emperors according to the exigencies of politics. The general attitude of the Mysore rulers towards the decadent Vijayanagara empire had been an interesting factor in the history of the kingdom of Mysore.

At the time of the accession of Doddadevaraja Wodeyar, we find Sriranga Raya a helpless fugitive at the court of Ikkeri, being driven "from pillar to post". He sought refuge there, only with the object of recovering his ancestral possessions by the active help and cooperation of his loyal feudatories. But he was greatly disappointed and disillusioned in his expectation when Sivappa Nayaka retreated ignominiously sustaining defeat at the hands of the Mysore ruler in 1659. Further, the death of Sivappa Nayaka himself in 1660, had destroyed all the remaining hope for the recovery of his ancestral throne. His successors do not seem to have been very able and courageous as to uphold the cause of Sriranga Raya. Since the assumption of Dalavoyship by Nanjanathaiya (April 1662) Mysore was growing stronger and stronger while Ikkeri growing weaker and weaker. Being placed in a distressing position, Sriranga Raya found the futility of sojourning in an uncongenial atmosphere. Consequently he left Belur for the south in 1663.[1]

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1. We have inscriptions of Sriranga Raya from Belur, ranging from 1659 to 1663 if not 1664 (See Mys.Gaz., 11, iii. 2352-2353, 2366-2367, 2386; Nayaks of Madura, P.357, No.160; also E.C., V(1) and (2) Hn. 39 and Mj.21). In the light of the Mys.Dho. Pur., 11, 24, 25, 26, Sriranga appears to have left Belur for the south not later than April 1663 although grants continued to be issued in his name till 1664.

In the series of records - lithic and copper-plate - ranging from April 1663 down to March 1664,[1] raja Doddadevaraja Wodeyar appears with a number of titles implying imperial ideas, among the most significant being Muru Manneyaraganda (champion over three chiefs), para Raya Bhayankara (dreaded by enemy kings). Hindu raya Suratrana (Sultan of Hindu kings) Nana varna Makuta Mandalikara ganda (champion over chiefs of many coloured crowns), Chatussamudradhisvara or Chatussamudra-paryanta bhumandalidhisvara (lord of the world as far as four oceans).

Dharni-varaha (Sovereign of the world). The use of the boar seal is also in evidence in some of these records[2] while there is a marked tendency on the part of Doddadevaraja to claim imperial rule from the throne in Srirangapatna.[3] In all these documents again, are conspicuous by the absence of the name of his suzerain i.e. the Emperor of Vijayanagara. Evidently it shows that the last Vijayanagara emperor had ceased to be a force in the politics of Mysore giving place naturally, to Doddadevaraja Wodeyar who came to prominence as an independent ruler of Mysore from that of a subordinate feudatory of the Vijayanagara empire.

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1. E.C., Mys.Dis. Supple. Vol., Mys.114, 27-28; XII KG.33, 11, 9-11; 3, 7, 11, 92-101; M.A.R. 1917, pp.58-59, para 143; E.C.IV (2) Kr.67, 11. 10-12; III (1) TN. 23, 11. 6-18; Md. 114, 11. 6-9 (of 1663) and Sr. 13 (1664), 11. 3-6.

2. See for instance, E.C., XII Kg. 37 (1663), 1. 240; Bhu varaha - Mudrayacha Virajitam; III (1) TN. 23 (1663), 11. 78-79: Bhu-varaha - Mudraya pravirajitam.

3. E.C. Mys.Dis.Suppl. Vol., Mys. 114, 11. 48-49; XII Kg. 33, 1. 12; 37, 11, 98-99; M.A.R., 1917, I.C.; E.C., IV (2) Kr. 67, 11. 12-13; III (1) TN. 23, 1. 16; Md. 114, 1. 9 (of 1663); and Sr. 13 (1664), 1. 6: Mysūra Śrirangapattanada simhāsana-rūdharāgi; Śrirangapattana Simhāsanādhisvara; paśchimarangadhāma-nagari simhāshanādhisvarah; Mysore Simhāshanādhisvara.

During the reign of Doddadevaraja Mysore stepped on to a stage where it could proudly call herself as a kingdom. The celebrated Tatacharya family of Sri Vaishnava royal preceptors came to the court of Srirangapatna from Vijayanagar and their settlement there contributed no little to confirm on the Royal House of Mysore the vanishing glories of Vijayanagara imperialism.[1]

By January 1665, Doddadevaraja rose to the pinnacle of glory as is evident from the title Emperor (Samrat) he assumed.[2] In July 1666 Dalavai Nanjanathaiya let loose his whirl wind of conquest and conquered Saratavalli from Annajaiya[3] and in November, Holenarasipura from Narasimha Nayaka.[4] In April 1667 Nanjanathaiya was succeeded by Kumaraiya of Kalale.[5]

Battle of Erode.

The relationship between Mysore and Madura ever since the accession of Kanthirava & Tirumala respectively, was not cordial. They used to be at war now and then, for territorial conquests. The same schemes of territorial aggrandisement were prolonged with unbroken continuity in some form or the other during earlier parts of the reigns of Chokkanatha and Doddadevaraja. The epigraphical records of 1659[6] and 1663[7] refer to the aggressive attitude of

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1. C.Hayavadana Rao, History of Mysore Vol.I, P.225.
2. E.C., Mys.Dis.Suppl. Vol., My. 116 (1665), ll. 9-11: Samrāt Samastha-Nrpa-mauli - mani-prabhabhir Nirajito Vijayate bhuvi Devarajah
3. Mys.Dho.Pur., ll. 27; Annals, I, 97; Wilks, I, 71.
4. Ibid ll. 27-28; see also C.Vij. V., 94.
5. Annals, I, 97; Mys. Dho. Pur., I, 68.
6. A lithic record from Singanallur No.20, (1659) in M.A.R. 1910.
7. M.A.R., 1917 pp.58-59, para 143; E.C., III (1) TN.23, ll. 10-11.

Doddadevaraja Wodeyar against the Pandyan kingdom. According to Oriental Historical Manuscripts[1] Mysore was successful in inflicting a crushing defeat on Madura and chasing the enemy as far as Dindigal.

The political atmosphere of Madura kingdom seems to have been much disturbed by the presence of Sriranga who left Belur in 1663. Proenza's letter of 1662 contains a reference to "the daring project" of Chokkanatha Nayaka (1659-88)"to drive the Mughals (Deccan Sultan) from all the countries they had invaded, to re-establish the ex-king of Bisnagar in his country, and to give Gingee back to its Nayaka".[2] It is surprising to note that there is no mention of Sriranga Raya in the Jesuit letters after 1662 though he lived for ten years more. Probably they were not aware of his movements or they attached no importance as he ceased to be a force in South Indian politics.

The grant of Chokkanatha Nayaka dated 1663,[3] the conquest of Belur by Hiriyasomasekhara Nayaka of Ikkeri[4] before 1664 explicitly explain that Sriranga Raya was in the south. Further

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1. Ms, II. 169, 171-175. This manuscript from the Mackenzie collection, makes reference to 'Carasura Nandi Raja' as invading Madura during the reign of Doddadevaraja Wodeyar, but the details do not hold good to the reigns of Chokkanatha and Doddadevaraja. 'Carasura Nandi Raja' referred to here, is identical with Nandinathaiya of Kalale who served Doddadevaraja as Dalvoy leading expeditions to the South. 'Carasura'(Karachuri) is the distinct epithet of Dalavai Nanjarajaiya III of Kalale (1739-1759) see II volume of Hayavadana Rao's Mysore History.
2. Nayaks of Madura, pp.273-274.
3. Nayaks of Madura, P.356, No.157. It refers to Sriranga's rule at Ghanagiri (Penukonda). It must be understood that he was in the kingdom of Chokkanatha; Mys. Gaz., II. iii 2366-2367, No.19, citing from Sewell's List of Antiquities.
4. Ke.N.V., VIII, 125, Vs. 28-30.

C.Vijayam[1] definitely says that Sriranga Raya was in the dominions of Chokkanatha of Madura. During 1663-1667 Sriranga Raya seems to have resided in the kingdom of Madura as is evident from literary and epigraphical sources, actively working out his schemes of imperial restoration. The presence of Sriranga was a source of inspiration to Chokkanatha to launch the schemes of territorial conquests for himself under the garb of establishing the master to his former glory.

The details of the battle of Erode between Doddadevaraja and Chokkanatha were very well depicted in "Chikkadevaraja Vijayam" by the learned poet, author and statesman Tirumalarya, the playmate, companion and life long minister of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar. According to this work, the crushing defeat inflicted on Ghatta Mudaliar of Samballi who had had the support of Chokkanatha, by Doddadevaraja about January 1667 had provoked the ruler of Madura because of the reverses of his ally. Soon he directed his powerful army consisting of a lakh of foot, a hundred elephants and several horses to avenge the humiliation of his ally.

<u>Maratha Generals actively supported Chokkanatha against Mysore in the battle of Erode(1667).</u>

The death of Shahji at Hodigere in 1664 did not altogether wipe out the influence of the Marathas in the South in general and

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1. V, 81: Tannasiranga rāyagam. Here Chokkantha (Chokkalinga) is made to refer to Sriranga as "his sri Ranga". Evidently Sri Ranga left Belur for Madura with expectation of recovering his ancestral throne with the help of his feudatory Chokkanatha & other feudatories of the South but in vain. See also inscriptions of Chokkanatha during 1663-1667, in which he acknowledges the suzerainty of Sriranga (Nayaks of Madura pp.356-358, Nos. 157, 165-168; Mys. Gaz., ii. iii. 2366-2367, Nos. 19, 21-24).

in Mysore in particular. The epigoni of Shahji found themselves as viceroys in several places of South India as a consequence of daring invasion of Shahji during latter half of his life. Ekoji succeeded to the heritage of Shahji in Bangalore; Vedoji Pandita was the Governor of Gingee; [1] Anantha Pandita was the governor (~~also~~ Anantoji) of Tanjore. These Maratha officers having sworn-fealty to Bijapur stood loyal to its Sultan; and these chieftains occupying the subordinate position were paying annual tribute regularly and rendering their military serviceas as and when the Sultan required of them.

The projected expansion of Mysore under Doddadevaraja might have acted as a nightmare to Chokkanatha of Madura, when he came into collision with the former on questions of territorial integrity. Further the defeat of Ghatta Mudaliar of Samballi by Doddadevaraja in January 1667 was an alarm signal to Chokkanatha who, by realising that his ally's defeat was his own defeat, formed a grand confederacy consisting of Sriranga Raya,[2] a wanderer without a habitation, Vedoji Pandita,[3] a Wazier of Bijapur (then in charge of Gingee), Anantoji Pandita of Tanjore, a Bijapur General and Damarlayappa Nayaka.[4] There were also, in his ranks, Banajigas, Telugus and artillery men, the last under the command of Lingama Nayaka,

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1. Ancient India, P.296.
2. C.Vij, V. 37.
3. Ibid, V. 38.
4. Ibid, V. 38 (This Damarla Nayak was identical with Aiyappa of Poonamalli (brother of Damarla Venkatadri), founder of Chennapatna or Madras in the name of his father, Chenna. see Sources of Vij, P.21 and Mys. Gaz, II. iii. 2394-2398.

the artillery officer. Chokkanatha, in alliance with Bijapur Sultan who was terror to Golkonda, with his main army and the forces of the confederates encircled the fort of Erode and was preparing to lay siege to it.[1]

When the news of this grand alliance and its investment of Erode reached Mysore, Doddadevaraja summoned a council of war where in he discussed with his officers pros and cons of encountering the enemy. When heated discussions were going on, Chikkadevaraja, the crown prince of 22 years, offered himself to be at the head of the Mysore army to crush the coalition. But very soon Chikkadevaraja was succeeded by Dalavai Kumaraiya for the command of the Mysore army. Dalavoy Kumaraiya, making rapid marches, entered the camp of the enemy at Erode. In the action that followed, Kumaraiya exhibited rare skill and courage in defeating the Kongas; killing Damarlaiyappa Nayaka; in putting to flight Anantha Pandita; capturing the elephant named Kulasekhara and plundering the entire Tamilnad.[2] This event took place in June 1667.[3] Mysore won a brilliant victory over the confederates. Vedoji Pandita and other Maratha officers under the service of Bijapur seem to have fled from the field of action owing to marvelous military skill and rare courage exhibited by the Mysore

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1. C.Vi. V, 39-40.
2. C.Vi., V, 33-90; E.C., (1) Sr. 14 (1686), ll. 36-38; and Hasti Mahat., I, 67 - referring to the siege of Erode and Doddadevaraja's victory over the Nayak of Madura & the Kongas.
3. Wilks, I, P.37, list of conquests: Mys. Dho. Pur, II, 28-29; Ancient India, pp.296-297; Sources, P.21; Nayaks of Madura pp.26, 171-173; and Mys. Gaz., II, iii. 2394-2398. R.Satyanatha Aiyer in his recently published book 'Tamilham in the 17th Century', P.53 assigns 1670 as the date when the battle of Erode took place on the basis of epigraphical evidences but Mys.Dho.Pur. and Wilks explicitly say that the event took place in Jan-June 1667.

army. Maratha officers who stood in good stead with the Madura ruler supporting him with their forces to rise up in arms against Mysore, must have felt the shock of the superior force of Mysore.

In June 1667, Kumaraiya acquired Erode; in November Dharapuram; and in February 1668 Vamalur and the dependencies Kamalur & Samballipura from Ghatta Mudaliar.[1] Chokkanatha submitted without opposition and paid costly presents to Mysore.[2]

The results of this war was that Erode, Dharapur and Trichinopoly were included in the southern limits of Mysore; the pride of Chokkanatha was crushed; and the Maratha influence was checked for the time being.

Encouraged by these easy successes Doddadevaraja Wodeyar, commenced his territorial encroachments of his neighbours. Huliyurdurga in December 1667, Kunigal in January 1668 from Mummadi Kempegowda of Magadi (1658-1678)[3] were easily conquered by him.

Sri Ranga Raya.

The unfortunate representative of the decadent Vijayanagara empire, driven from place to place by unforseen forces of his destiny, was, at last, able to find shelter in the kingdom of Madura from

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1. See Mys. Dho.Pur., II. 28-29 specifically dating these acquisitions in plavanga, Ashada su. 15 (June 25, 1667), Margasira su. 10 (November 15, 1667) and phalguna su. 10 (Feb.12, 1668); Annals I. 97; also Mys. Raj. Cha., I. C.; C.Vij., V, 91 and E.C., III (1) Sr. 14, ll. 38-39 referring to Doddadevaraja's conquests in the south-east of Mysore.
2. Annals, I. 98; Mys. Raj. Cha., I. C; C.Vi, V, 95-96; also Wilks I, 36; Nayaks of Madura, P.162.
3. Mys. Dho. Pur., II. 29; Annals, I. 97; C.Vij., V, 93-94; Hasti. Mah., I, 67; Wilks, I, P.37.

1663-1667 and during the siege of Erode, disappointed in his expectation had quitted the stage of Madura for Trichinopoly about the middle of 1667. Frustrated very much at the break-down of the confederacy he gave up what little hope he had of the imperial restoration. Staying there for one year, he seems to have left for Penukonda in or about 1668 from where, he continued his rule till 1672.[1]

The death of Sriranga has remained a controversial matter for the last thirty years. C.Hayavadana Rao[2] in his book, History of Mysore fixes the date of death of Sriranga as 1681. Dr.S.Krishnaswami Iyengar[3] also gives the same opinion: "He appears to have returned to Penukonda in A.D. 1665. He continued to rule probably until A.D. 1681. R.Satyanatha Aiyer gives the exact date 1672 for the death of Sriranga Raya on the basis of a letter of Fort St. George to the company dated 16-12-1672 which says: "Another cloud begins to gather towards the mountains where the gentue king of Cornatta, whose harsh carriage to his great ones was the losse of this country, being newly dead, a brother's sonn succeeds in his rights".[4]

The entire survey of the activities and movements of Sriranga Raya clearly reveals that his was a disappointed soul.

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1. R.Satyanatha Aiyer: Tamilkham in the 17th Century pp. 53-54.
2. History of Mysore, Vol. I, P.237; Mysore Gazetteer, 2407.
3. Further Sources, I. 369.
4. English Records on Shivaji, (Shivaji Tercentenary Memorial series, Vol. VI, Poona, 1931), Vol. I, P.232.

Betrayed again and again by the faithless feudatories, Whenever he approached them for assistance, he became an emperor without an empire. He was deserted not merely by his faithless, disloyal subordinates but even by Maratha leader Shahji who had been hailed by the Hindu accounts like Shiva Bharata, Radhamadhava Vilasa Champu and the Brihadesvara temple inscription as the restorer Hinduism. Shahji, though a Hindu, never cooperated with Sriranga Raya in recovering his ancestral throne. The latter half of his life (1639-1664) had been spent in cooperating with his master the Bijapur Sultan in his conquest of Karnatak. A golden opportunity was offered in 1648 to Shahji when he could contribute his quota to the restoration of the Vijayanagara empire but he missed it. No doubt he was the greatest Hindu General in those days whose help could have saved the empire for some more years. But the circumstances prevented him from doing so.

Doddadevaraja died on January 23rd, 1673[1] at Chikkanayakanahalli while he was touring the State. His dead body was carried to Srirangapatna and cremated on the bank of the Cauvery as desired by him before his death.

Doddadevaraja occupies a unique place in the history of Mysore for having saved the kingdom of Mysore from foreign aggression. Sivappa Nayaka was defeated and driven out from the soil of

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1. Santanambuja cited by Dr.S.Srikantasastri in Q.J.M.S., 1956, P.198; Mys. Dho. Pur., I. 57, II. 23; Annals, I. P.103; Mys. Raj. Cha., 27; Raj. Kath. XII. 476; Wilks, I. P.70; Rice, I. 365; Ancient India, P.298. I have preferred here the first one.

Srirangapatna. During 1663-1664 Doddadevaraja caused great havoc in the kingdom of Ikkeri. Nandinathaiya, the celebrated commander of the Mysore army had increased the reputation of his overlord by launching forth the territorial conquest in the regions of Karnatak-Bijapur-Balaghat. It marked the pinnacle of Nandinathaiya's glory when he inflicted a crushing defeat on Shahji seizing his fabulous wealth, arms and ammunitions.

The formation of a formidable confederacy consisting of reputed Maratha Generals like Vedoji Pandit, Anantoji Pandit and other chieftains by Chokkanatha was a grave crisis to the king of Mysore. But the terror was dispelled when he defeated the confederates in the famous battle of Erode fought in 1667. Like his predecessor, Doddadevaraja had left a compact kingdom to his successor Devaraja Wodeyar.

The relations between the Marathas and the king of Mysore were not friendly on any account. Being harrassed by the plundering expeditions of Mysore, the Marathas bore a severe grudge against the Mysoreans.

Doddadevaraja was succeeded by his brother Devaraja on January 23, 1673 who ruled for only a short period of five months (May 15, 1673).[1] This ruler was completely ignored by the historians

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1. In the Santānambuja (drawn up in 1860) Kanthīrava Narasarāja is said to have ruled from Saka 1561, Bahudanya Kartika suddha 2 (28-10-1638) and he was succeeded by Doddadevaraja in Saka 1582, Vikari Bhadrapada suddha 10 (17-8-1659). It is said that he ruled for 13 years, 5 months and 6 days. He was succeeded by Chikkadevaraja on Phalguna Bahula 12, paridhavi, S. 1595 (15-5-1673). Therefore it is likely that Devaraja ruled from (17-8-1659 plus 13 years 5 months and 6 says) = 23 January 1673 to 15-5-1673, the accession of Chikkadevaraja - see Q.J.M.S. special number, 1956, P.198.

of Mysore. But the detailed study of contemporary and later works definitely point to the rule of Devaraja[1] over Mysore however short the period might be. No historical event of any importance seems to have taken during the reign of Devaraja.

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1. See Appendix III

CHAPTER VI.

Maratha Viceroys in Mysore: Battle of Erode (1667).

Ekōji, Sambhāji, Vēdōji Pant and Anantōji were some of the prominent Marathas who were governing the conquered territories of Bijapur in the south as the Viceroys.

Career of Ekōji: Ekoji was entrusted with the tremendous responsibility of governing the Jagirs of his father in Mysore. Shahji had married two wives - Jijavai or Jiayi Jadhav by whom he had two sons, the elder Sambhaji and the younger Shivaji, and Tukabai or Tukaji Mohite who was the mother of Vyankoji or Ekoji.[1] Ekoji was born in A.D. 1630. Therefore he does not seem to have been much younger than Shivaji, if we take for granted that the latter was also born in the same year.[2] It is said that Shahji had bestowed great love and affection on the more attractive wife, Tukabai; and hence Jijabai, the first wife quietly remained at a distant place, being neglected by her husband. Ekoji thus grew under the warm affection and protection of his father.[3]

Ekoji seems to have possessed great military skill and tactics as is evident from his conquest of Sri Sailam in 1658.[4] As an young and enterprising prince, Ekoji had rendered great help

1. Ekoji is spelt differently: Venkajee in Duff, Vencaji in Elphinstone, Angojee or Ekojee in Scott, Eccojee in Wilks.
2. Balakrishna: Shivaji the Great, Vol.I, Part I, pp.180-181; K.R.Subraminiam: The Maratha Rajas of Tanjore, P.19.
3. Sarkar: Shivaji and His Times, P.21 (2 edition).
4. Balakrishna, P.144.

to his father, who had permanently established at Bangalore.[1] He actively cooperated with his father in the conquest of Tanjore in 1658; but a formidable confederacy of the local chieftains reversed theirexpectation and kept them away.[2] Ekoji accompanied his father where ever he went and participated in whatever events his father was involved. Unable to bear any longer the anti-Bijapur activities of Shivaji, the Sultan of Bijapur employed Shahji to mediate a peace with him. Accordingly Shahji proceeded to Poona in the year 1662 along with his son, Ekoji and brought about a reconciliation between the Sultan of Bijapur and his son Shivaji. Now Ekoji had the splendid opportunity of seeing the old Jagirs at Poona[3].

On the death of his father in 1664, Ekoji succeeded to the former's position and property in the south. This was confirmed by Adil Shah of Bijapur.[4] Ekoji, after getting the confirmation order from the Bijapur court, inaugurated a rule much stronger than that of his father. Wilks says:

> "Ekoji assumed forms and demonstrations of royalty still more direct and pompous than those adopted by his father".[5]

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1. Kincaid and Parasnis: A.H.M.P., P.98; Grant Duff: H.M.P., Vol. I, pp.95-96.
2. Sardesai: N.H.M., Vol.I, P.82.
3. R.Satyanatha Aiyer: Tamilaham in the 17th century, P.92; Proceedings of the Indian Historical Congress, 1938, P.595. In this article, R.Satyanatha Aiyer, relying on Balakrishna's 'Shivaji the Great' Vol.I, Part I, says that Ekoji visited Jagir of Poona long with his father in 1663. Sardesai(Vol.I, pp.82-83) says that Shahji visited his Jagir in 1662. The latter authority is preferred here.
4. S.N.Sen: Shiva Chhatrapati, 231; Ar.Rep. of M. for 1909, P.25.
5. Wilks: History of Mysore Vol.I, P.48.

The rich experience that Ekoji gained in the administration as well as in the warfare by close association with his father had enabled him to face the problems of the day boldly and sagaciously. That Ekoji was qualified to succeed to the Jagir of Karnatak is proved by a stone epigraph correctly assigned to A.D. 1662 by Rice. In this record it is said that during the regime of Ekoji (Srimatu Enkoja Rajara aulvike (ya) li) the havaldar in charge of the fortress of Rahadurga was called Baranaji Raya.[1]

Therefore, it is evident that Ekoji was the Viceroy of the Kolar District in that year. He seemed to have ruled only for a short period, for in the subsequent year 1663, Sambhaji again comes on the scene as the Governor of Kolar.[2]

Ekoji followed the traditional policy of his father in granting villages and lands for the improvement of the administration of temple.

An inscription dated 1669 on the rock of south of the Mallesvara temple at Mallesvaram, Bangalore records that, on the application of the Maha nadu of Bangalore, Ekoji Raya granted Medaraninganahalli as a manya for the God Mallikarjuna of Mallapura.[3] Thus Ekoji had established his authority over Bangalore and its territories dependent on it and carried on the administration of

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1. Epigraphia Carnatica, X, Sd.47; P.185.
2. E.C. X, Kl. 219, P.63.
3. Archaeological Report of Mysore for 1909, P.25.
Medaraninganahalli is about a mile to the east of Mallesvaram.

the country according to the instructions of the Sultan of Bijapur till he was commissioned by the latter to effect the conquest of Tanjore.

Sambhāji in Mysore.

Several inscriptions found in Mysore State particularly in Chikkaballapura, Dodda-Ballapura, Kolar and other places speak of the activities of Sambhaji, the Maratha. These inscriptions range from 1637 to 1680. The identity of this Sambhaji seems a difficult task; for, there are a number of prominent Marathas having the same name. For instance Sambhaji was the name given to the eldest sone of Shahji, the eldest brother of Shivaji the great. The name of the latter's eldest son was also Sambhaji. Another man from Kolhapur bore the same name; Shahji's brother-in-law (second wife's brother) was called Sambhaji Mohite; and one of Shivaji's officers was also called Sambhaji Kaviji.

Of these five personalities that figure mostly in Maratha history, who was the man that played a significant part in the politics of Mysore is to be decided satisfactorily. Sambhaji Kavji does not engage our attention as he cannot be the likely ruler alluded to in the inscription; and above all he does not seem to have been vested with any sovereign powers as the person under review. Sambhaji of Kolhapur does not come on the scene as he was born after the 17th century (i.e. A.D. 1712 - 1760). The other Sambhajis that are left here are the sons of Shahji and Shivaji and the brother-in-law of Shahji, with whom we are more concerned, as they had indisputable connections with the history

of Mysore.

We know clearly that Shahji was sent by the Sultan of Bijapur with Ranadulla Khan in order to effect the conquest of Mysore; and after the successful termination of the campaign, Shahji was granted Jagir in Mysore comprising of Bangalore, Dodda Ballapura, Sira and other places as a mark of his selfless service. Since 1639, Shahji had been residing at Bangalore which in course of time devloped into a historical city of great importance.

Shahji had two sons by his first wife Jija Bai, named Sambhaji and Shivaji. Sambhaji was born in A.D. 1619.[1] It is generally accepted that Sambhaji had lost his life in an attack on Kanakagiri in A.D. 1654.[2]

Sambhaji had been of great help to Shahji for he used to assist him in the administration. That Sambhaji came to light as assisting his father in Mysore at least from 1647 onwards can evidently be proved. Several inscriptions found in Mysore bear testimony to this fact. An inscription discovered at Hancarahalli, Dodda Ballapura Taluk, dated Wednesday, 3rd March 1647 states that "Sambhaji Raya granted Canna Basappa Vader (Wodeyar) of the Sajji Matha people's matha, the Hancipura village".[3] From this it is clear that he was ruling over Dodda Ballapura as the Governor; and to occupy this post he was sufficiently aged (28 years). It

1. Sardesai: N.H.M. Vol.I, P.41.
2. Ibid, P.81.
3. E.C. IX, D.B. 28, P.64, text P.78: Srimatu Vyaya Samvatsarada phalguna suda 7 Ma. llu - Sāji matha Sambhāji Rāyanu Canna Basapa-Vaderige kotta Hancipura Yidake.

is to be noted that he was simply addressed as Sambhaji without giving any honorific title which was common among the several royal families of the age (Raya and so on). From this it can be infered that he was acting only as the representative of his father Shahji and till this year he was not granted any specific royal title. In 1650 a charitable grant was issued by Sambhaji in the district of Bangalore.[1] But in the year 1653 there appears to have been a change in the official status of the prince Sambhaji. He had assumed so many titles. The inscription found in the Kondipalli village, Mulbagal taluk, Mysore State, dated 1653 says that "the rājadhirāja rājarāja Sambhāji Rāja Mahārāja's son Kannarāyaji Pandita ...... buying Kondiganahalli, granted it to .... svati as a kattu-godagi".[2] Now Sambhaji was invested with almost full royal titles like Rajadhiraja, Raja raja, Maharaja. Further he had a son named Kannarayaji Pandita.

Why Sambhaji was granted these titles in A.D. 1653 needs inquiry. Though we have not got direct evidence on this point, yet we can make out the reasons for honouring Sambhaji with such royal titles. Firstly he was entrusted with the tremendous responsibilities of administering several districts in the Jagirs of his father and above all he was expected to lead an expedition into Kanakagiri[3] in the subsequent year against Appa Khan, its

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1. Wilks: History of Mysore, Vol. I, P.92.
2. E.C. X. Mb 154, P.111, text, P.132: Vijaya - Samvatsara kārtīka - bahula 11 lu srimad - rājādhirāja - rāja - rāja - s'ri Sambāji raja - mahārājara kumāra kannarayaji - pandita Śaka varusha - dāna dharma ....diganahalli vraya kondu ... vastige kotta kattu kodagi.
3. Kanakagiri has been knownas a tirtha from the 10th century. See E.C. III, Ml.30, P.59. For its prominence in A.D. 1355, 1422 and 1492 see E.C. IV (1) Ch.153, P.20, Ch.150, P.20, and Ch.160, P.21 respectively.

chieftain. Spirited Sambhaji was further exalted with these roytal titles to equip himself for the task.

All the Maratha records agree in stating that Appa Khan, the chieftain of Kanakagiri unfurled the standard of revolt and cast a covetous eye on Dodda Ballapura, part and parcel of Shahji's Jagir. In orderto punish this refractory chieftain, Sambhaji was deputed. In the encounter that followed Sambhaji was killed due to deliberate negligence on the part of Afzal Khan to reinforce the prince at a critical juncture. This campaign took place in 1654[1]. It was this failure that drove this Shahji to reconquer Kanakagiri three or four years later.[2] A reference is made by Shahji in his letter dated 6th July, 1657 to the Sultan of Bijapur:

> "Your majesty, I had been deputed to the expedition against Kanakagiri and having carried out the mission successfully, was duly rewarded ....
> I also conquered for your State the districts of Anegondi and Kanakagiri".[3]

On this basis of this letter, R.N.Salatore writes that there was a second expedition against the chieftain of Kanakagiri which was led by Shahji in person either in 1656 or in the early

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1. Takakhav: Life of Shivaji Maharaj. pp.50-51; Grant Duff: History of the Maharattas, Vol.I, pp.146-147; Kincaid & Parasins: A.H.M.P., P.31; Sardesai: N.H.M. Vol.I, P.81 places the event in the subsequent year (1654). The latter authority is preferred. J.N.Sarkar: Shivaji & His Times (3rd ed) P.38, places the event in 1649.
2. R.N.Salatore: Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, Vol.13, 1939, P.58.
3. Sivaji Souvenir, P.138 text pp.115, 117 as cited by R.N.Salatore, op.cit.

part of A.D. 1657.[1] How Shahji was honoured for having conquered Kanakagiri is not known to us. On the whole it is evident that Kanakagiri did not remain a part and parcel of Shahji Jagir; on the contrary it was annexed to the kingdom of Bijapur.

The Kondipalli inscription issued in the year 1653 does not mention the death of Sambhaji, which would have been certainly mentioned, had the event taken place in that year. Therefore it can easily be inferred that the epigraph was issued prior to the alleged fatality.

Sardesai says that Sambhaji lost his life in an attack on Kanakagiri in 1654.[2]

Further an epigraph found at Muduvadi on a shrine near the sluice of Mallasandra tank in the Kolar taluk, Mysore State, dated 20th October 1654 states that " the Rajadhiraja rajamanya raja sri Sambhaji Raya Maharajarayya's agent for the border district of the Kolala sime, Kanayaja pant and others, on the Komatis of Kolala, abounding it, giving it, gave to Candara Tambarahalli Depa Ganda, land under the Muduvadi Mallasamudram tank with sasana for constructing it".[3]

From this account we can make out that the authority of the Marathas was fully established over the Kolar district. Secondly

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1. Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, Vol.13, 1939, P.58.
2. N.H.M. Vol.I, P.81.
3. E.C. X, Kl. 193, P.60, text, P.68: Jaya samvatsara da āsvīja ba 5 Bra - lu - śrimad rājādhirāja rājamānya rājaśri Sambhōji Rāja Mahārāja raiyanavara Kār (yakartha) ru ... Kōlāla sīme sarahadalada Kanayaja pantaru modalādavaru Kolada Komati.

Sambhaji was not said to have issued the grant to Depa Ganda; on the contrary his agent figured prominently and was said to have been the chief grantor of the plot of land. If Sambhaji was really alive, as was the practice, there was no necessity to issue the grant in the name of his agent. Therefore it is clear that Sambhaji was dead by this time. It is also wrong to assume that Sambhaji was alive as far as 1663.[1]

R.N.Salatore says that "one of the epigraphs which specifically refer to Sambhaji as living for instance, in A.D. 1660 is one found at Gottehalli, Kolar taluk, Mysore State".

The author of the article has completely mistaken this Sambhaji, mentioned in the inscription of 1660. He was altogether different from the one mentioned already. Sambaji of 1660 inscription was the brother-in-law of Shahji as his sister Tuka Bai was married to him. How this Sambhaji came to Mysore?

Sardesai says:

> "Supa .... not far from Poona was held by a rather uncongenial neighbour, Sambhaji Mohite, a staunch loyalist of Bijapur and in addition an unfriendly relation of Shivaji, as his sister Tuka Bai was the second wife of Shahji. Sambhaji Mohite,

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1. R.N.Salatore writing in the Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, Vol.13, 1939, P.60 argues that if Sambhaji were not alive at that time, his successor's name should have been mentioned in the inscription. Relying on this particular point, he rejects the theory of the death of Sambhaji in the siege of Kanakagiri as unhistorical. He again says "The acceptance of his demise in this year is based almost entirely of Maratha Chroniclers none of whose accounts were contemporary in the sense in which the

(continued on the next page).

a hereditary noble of Bijapur, would not be persuaded to join Shivaji's movement nor enter his service .... one dark night Shivaji .... made a sudden raid upon Supa, surprized Sambhaji ...... and persuaded him to join his movement, but the proud man would not yield, Shivaji sent him under proper escort to his father at Bangalore."[1]

This event took place in 1652.[2] After the death of Sambhaji at Kanakagiri in 1654, this Sambhaji Mohite was appointed to the Governorship of Kolar. It may be argued that Mohite is not mentioned in the inscription to consider that he is different from the former. To this objection it may be said that the Karnataka people were not in the habit of calling their governors by their family name or it is likely they may not know the epithet 'Mohite'. They used to call him Sambhaji.

Therefore Sambhaji was placed to govern Kolar district. Let us see what the inscription says: Having the date of Friday, 5th October 1660, it says that "Sambhaji Raja granted land to Antraji pandita of Akaladarsa in Sugatur hobali".[3]

(continued from previous page)

inscriptions can be said to be contemporary. There is no extant Maratha chronicle which written in the last days of Sambhaji or his father Sahu or even of Sivaji, specifies in the clearest terms that Sambhaji perished in the onslaught against Kanakagiri; nor is there any account, either of an eye-witness, Hindu or Muslim, or even a foreign traveller, to corroborate the statement. The only historian of note who set this down as an accepted fact was Grant Duff, but the exact sources of information are neither accessible or known to us. The kanarese epigraphs, on the other hand, not only do they not refer to his death but speak of him as actually alive up to 1663 A.D."

1. N.H.M., Vol.I, pp.103-104.
2. Ibid, P.104.

(for foot-note 3 please see next page)

By making a comparative study of the two epigraphs it is possible to find out the approximate date, if not the exact date, of the appointment of Sambhaji to the governorship of Kolar. In the inscription of 1654 Sambhaji's agent is mentioned to have been the chief grantor of the land and in the inscription of 1660 Sambhaji is mentioned as the grantor of the land. Therefore it is probable that Sambhaji was sent to rule Kolar about A.D.1657. Another point we will have to note in this inscription 1660 is that honorific titles like rajadhiraja, raja Maharaja that were conferred upon Sambhaji, the son of Shahji, were not given to this Sambhaji. He is simply addressed as Sambhaji Rajaravaru. Therefore this Sambhaji must have been different, otherwise all the other titles would have been repeated in the inscription if he happened to be the same man. The word "Rajaravaru" also implies the royal position accorded to him most likely by Shahji who was at Bangalore and also great regard and respect that the people of Kolar showed to him.

It is very interesting to note that Sambhaji, in course of time, assumed all titles.

An epigraph found at Holur hobli, Kolar taluk, dated Friday, 1st May 1663 says that

> "the rajadhiraja rajashri Sambhaji Raja Saheb gave to Alambigiri Tippi Setti and Varanasi Cenne Gauda, a kodige sasana".[1]

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3. E.C. X, Kl 176, P.57, text, P.64: Śarvari samvatsarada Āśvija suddha 12 lu srimatu Sambōji Rājaravaru Sugaturu hobaliya Akaladarasaya Antarāji panditaru vritti vandu Samba

(for foot-note 1 please see next page)

Now it can no longer be disputed that Sambhaji had permanently established his rule over Kolar and assumed all the other titles befitting ~~to~~ his royal position. Further he was graced with the honorific 'Sahebaru' which was denied to Sambhaji, the son of Shahji. Moreover he seems to have assumed more form and grandeur in the administration of his district.

Sambhaji seems to have died in 1663 for no inscription bearing his name has been discovered as having been issued after 1663. The death of Sambhaji in 1663 and his brother-in-law Shahji in 1664[1] induced most of the districts in the Karnatak to throw off the rule of the Marathas and assert their independence. Such a move on the part of several districts must have taken fairly a long time because Shivaji had commenced the reconquest of these Karnatak possessions 14 years later.

Thus Bijapur territories in Karnataka came to be ruled by different Maratha Viceroys.

Doddadeva Raja's relations with Sriranga Raya: Ever since the exit of Tirumala, the Vijayanagara Viceroy at Srirangapatna, the rulers of Mysore, some times acknowledged the suzerain power as loyal servants and at other times, openly threw off the imperial yoke as is evident from a study of their epigraphical records.

(from previous page).

1. E.C. X, Kl 219. text, P.72: Vijayābhyudaya sālivāhana saka varusangalu 1585 s'obhakruta samvatsarada vaisaka su 5 lu srimad rājādhi rāja rājasri Sambhāji Rāja Sahebaru Alambagiri Tippi Setti Varanāsi Canne gaudagu kotta ... kodage sāsana...

1. Sardesai: N.H.M. Vol.I, pp.83-84.

The rulers of Mysore followed in the foot-steps of their contemporaries like the Nayaks of Madura, Tanjore and Gingee in adjusting their relations with the later Vijayanagara emperors according to the exigencies of politics. The general attitude of the Mysore rulers towards the decadent Vijayanagara empire had been an interesting factor in the history of the kingdom of Mysore.

At the time of the accession of Doddadevaraja Wodeyar, we find Sriranga Raya a helpless fugitive at the court of Ikkeri, being driven"from pillar to post". He sought refuge there, only with the object of recovering his ancestral possessions by the active help and cooperation of his loyal feudatories. But he was greatly disappointed and disillusioned in his expectation when Sivappa Nayaka retreated ignominiously sustaining defeat at the hands of the Mysore ruler in 1659. Further, the death of Sivappa Nayaka himself in 1660, had destroyed all the remaining hope for the recovery of his ancestral throne. His successors do not seem to have been very able and courageous as to uphold the cause of Sriranga Raya. Since the assumption of Dalavoyship by Nanjanathaiya (April 1662) Mysore was growing stronger and stronger while Ikkeri growing weaker and weaker. Being placed in a distressing position, Sriranga Raya found the futility of sojourning in an uncongenial atmosphere. Consequently he left Belur for the south in 1663.[1]

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1. We have inscriptions of Sriranga Raya from Belur, ranging from 1659 to 1663 if not 1664 (See Mys.Gaz., 11, iii. 2352-2353, 2366-2367, 2386; Nayaks of Madura, P.357, No.160; also E.C., V(1) and (2) Hn. 39 and Mj.21). In the light of the Mys.Dho. Pur., 11, 24, 25, 26, Sriranga appears to have left Belur for the south not later than April 1663 although grants continued to be issued in his name till 1664.

In the series of records - lithic and copper-plate - ranging from April 1663 down to March 1664,[1] raja Doddadevaraja Wodeyar appears with a number of titles implying imperial ideas, among the most significant being Muru Manneyaraganda (champion over three chiefs), para Raya Bhayankara (dreaded by enemy kings). Hindu raya Suratrana (Sultan of Hindu kings) Nana varna Makuta Mandalikara ganda (champion over chiefs of many coloured crowns), Chatussamudradhisvara or Chatussamudra-paryanta bhumandalidhisvara (lord of the world as far as four oceans).

Dharni-varaha (Sovereign of the world). The use of the boar seal is also in evidence in some of these records[2] while there is a marked tendency on the part of Doddadevaraja to claim imperial rule from the throne in Srirangapatna.[3] In all these documents again, are conspicuous by the absence of the name of his suzerain i.e. the Emperor of Vijayanagara. Evidently it shows that the last Vijayanagara emperor had ceased to be a force in the politics of Mysore giving place naturally, to Doddadevaraja Wodeyar who came to prominence as an independent ruler of Mysore from that of a subordinate feudatory of the Vijayanagara empire.

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1. E.C., Mys.Dis. Supple. Vol., Mys.114, 27-28; XII KG.33, 11, 9-11; 3, 7, 11, 92-101; M.A.R. 1917, pp.58-59, para 143; E.C.IV (2) Kr.67, 11. 10-12; III (1) TN. 23, 11. 6-18; Md. 114, 11. 6-9 (of 1663) and Sr. 13 (1664), 11. 3-6.
2. See for instance, E.C., XII Kg. 37 (1663), 1. 240; Bhu varaha - Mudrayacha Virajitam; III (1) TN. 23 (1663), 11. 78-79: Bhu-varaha - Mudraya pravirajitam.
3. E.C. Mys.Dis.Suppl. Vol., Mys. 114, 11. 48-49; XII Kg. 33, 1. 12; 37, 11, 98-99; M.A.R., 1917, I.C.; E.C., IV (2) Kr. 67, 11. 12-13; III (1) TN. 23, 1. 16; Md. 114, 1. 9 (of 1663); and Sr. 13 (1664), 1. 6: Mysūra Śrirangapattanada simhāsanarūdharāgi; Śrirangapattana Simhāsanādhisvara; paśchimarangadhāmanagari simhāshanādhisvarah; Mysore Simhāshanādhisvara.

During the reign of Doddadevaraja Mysore stepped on to a stage where it could proudly call herself as a kingdom. The celebrated Tatacharya family of Sri Vaishnava royal preceptors came to the court of Srirangapatna from Vijayanagar and their settlement there contributed no little to confirm on the Royal House of Mysore the vanishing glories of Vijayanagara imperialism.[1]

By January 1665, Doddadevaraja rose to the pinnacle of glory as is evident from the title Emperor (Samrat) he assumed.[2] In July 1666 Dalavai Nanjanathaiya let loose his whirl wind of conquest and conquered Saratavalli from Annajaiya[3] and in November, Holenarasipura from Narasimha Nayaka.[4] In April 1667 Nanjanathaiya was succeeded by Kumaraiya of Kalale.[5]

Battle of Erode.

The relationship between Mysore and Madura ever since the accession of Kanthirava & Tirumala respectively, was not cordial. They used to be at war now and then, for territorial conquests. The same schemes of territorial aggrandisement were prolonged with unbroken continuity in some form or the other during earlier parts of the reigns of Chokkanatha and Doddadevaraja. The epigraphical records of 1659[6] and 1663[7] refer to the aggressive attitude of

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1. C.Hayavadana Rao, History of Mysore Vol.I, P.225.
2. E.C., Mys.Dis.Suppl. Vol., My. 116 (1665), ll. 9-11: Samrat Samastha-Nrpa-mauli - mani-prabhabhir Nirajito Vijayate bhuvi Devarajah
3. Mys.Dho.Pur., ll. 27; Annals, I, 97; Wilks, I, 71.
4. Ibid ll. 27-28; see also C.Vij. V., 94.
5. Annals, I, 97; Mys. Dho. Pur., I, 68.
6. A lithic record from Singanallur No.20, (1659) in M. .R. 1910.
7. M.A.R., 1917 pp.58-59, para 143; E.C., III (1) TN.23, ll. 10-11.

Doddadevaraja Wodeyar against the Pandyan kingdom. According to Oriental Historical Manuscripts[1] Mysore was successful in inflicting a crushing defeat on Madura and chasing the enemy as far as Dindigal.

The political atmosphere of Madura kingdom seems to have been much disturbed by the presence of Sriranga who left Belur in 1663. Proenza's letter of 1662 contains a reference to "the daring project" of Chokkanatha Nayaka (1659-88)"to drive the Mughals (Deccan Sultan) from all the countries they had invaded, to re-establish the ex-king of Bisnagar in his country, and to give Gingee back to its Nayaka".[2] It is surprising to note that there is no mention of Sriranga Raya in the Jesuit letters after 1662 though he lived for ten years more. Probably they were not aware of his movements or they attached no importance as he ceased to be a force in South Indian politics.

The grant of Chokkanatha Nayaka dated 1663,[3] the conquest of Belur by Hiriyasomasekhara Nayaka of Ikkeri[4] before 1664 explicitly explain that Sriranga Raya was in the south. Further

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1. Ms, II. 169, 171-175. This manuscript from the Mackenzie collection, makes reference to 'Carasura Nandi Raja' as invading Madura during the reign of Doddadevaraja Wodeyar, but the details do not hold good to the reigns of Chokkanatha and Doddadevaraja. 'Carasura Nandi Raja' referred to here, is identical with Nandinathaiya of Kalale who served Doddadevaraja as Dalvoy leading expeditions to the South. 'Carasura'(Karachuri) is the distinct epithet of Dalavai Nanjarajaiya III of Kalale (1739-1759) see II volume of Hayavadana Rao's Mysore History.
2. Nayaks of Madura, pp.273-274.
3. Nayaks of Madura, P.356, No.157. It refers to Sriranga's rule at Ghanagiri (Penukonda). It must be understood that he was in the kingdom of Chokkanatha; Mys. Gaz., II. iii 2366-2367, No.19, citing from Sewell's List of Antiquities.
4. Ke.N.V., VIII, 125, Vs. 28-30.

C.Vijayam[1] definitely says that Sriranga Raya was in the dominions of Chokkanatha of Madura. During 1663-1667 Sriranga Raya seems to have resided in the kingdom of Madura as is evident from literary and epigraphical sources, actively working out his schemes of imperial restoration. The presence of Sriranga was a source of inspiration to Chokkanatha to launch the schemes of territorial conquests for himself under the garb of establishing the master to his former glory.

The details of the battle of Erode between Doddadevaraja and Chokkanatha were very well depicted in "Chikkadevaraja Vijayam" by the learned poet, author and statesman Tirumalarya, the playmate, companion and life long minister of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar. According to this work, the crushing defeat inflicted on Ghatta Mudaliar of Samballi who had had the support of Chokkanatha, by Doddadevaraja about January 1667 had provoked the ruler of Madura because of the reverses of his ally. Soon he directed his powerful army consisting of a lakh of foot, a hundred elephants and several horses to avenge the humiliation of his ally.

Maratha Generals actively supported Chokkanatha against Mysore in the battle of Erode(1667).

The death of Shahji at Hodigere in 1664 did not altogether wipe out the influence of the Marathas in the South in general and

1. V, 81: Tannasiranga rāyagam. Here Chokkantha (Chokkalinga) is made to refer to Sriranga as "his sri Ranga". Evidently Sri Ranga left Belur for Madura with expectation of recovering his ancestral throne with the help of his feudatory Chokkanatha & other feudatories of the South but in vain. See also inscriptions of Chokkanatha during 1663-1667, in which he acknowledges the suzerainty of Sriranga (Nayaks of Madura pp.356-358, Nos. 157, 165-168; Mys. Gaz., ii. iii. 2366-2367, Nos. 19, 21-24).

in Mysore in particular. The epigoni of Shahji found themselves as viceroys in several places of South India as a consequence of daring invasion of Shahji during latter half of his life. Ekoji succeeded to the heritage of Shahji in Bangalore; Vedoji Pandita was the Governor of Gingee; [1] Anantha Pandita was the governor ~~(also Anantoji)~~ of Tanjore. These Maratha officers having sworn-fealty to Bijapur stood loyal to its Sultan; and these chieftains occupying the subordinate position were paying annual tribute regularly and rendering their military serviceas as and when the Sultan required of them.

The projected expansion of Mysore under Doddadevaraja might have acted as a nightmare to Chokkanatha of Madura, when he came into collision with the former on questions of territorial integrity. Further the defeat of Ghatta Mudaliar of Samballi by Doddadevaraja in January 1667 was an alarm signal to Chokkanatha who, by realising that his ally's defeat was his own defeat, formed a grand confederacy consisting of Sriranga Raya,[2] a wanderer without a habitation, Vedoji Pandita,[3] a Wazier of Bijapur (then in charge of Gingee), Anantoji Pandita of Tanjore, a Bijapur General and Damarlayappa Nayaka.[4] There were also, in his ranks, Banajigas, Telugus and artillery men, the last under the command of Lingama Nayaka,

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1. Ancient India, P.296.
2. C.Vij, V. 37.
3. Ibid, V. 38.
4. Ibid, V. 38 (This Damarla Nayak was identical with Aiyappa of Poonamalli (brother of Damarla Venkatadri), founder of Chennapatna or Madras in the name of his father, Chenna, see Sources of Vij, P.21 and Mys. Gaz, II. iii. 2394-2398.

the artillery officer. Chokkanatha, in alliance with Bijapur Sultan who was terror to Golkonda, with his main army and the forces of the confederates encircled the fort of Erode and was preparing to lay siege to it.[1]

When the news of this grand alliance and its investment of Erode reached Mysore, Doddadevaraja summoned a council of war where in he discussed with his officers pros and cons of encountering the enemy. When heated discussions were going on, Chikkadevaraja, the crown prince of 22 years, offered himself to be at the head of the Mysore army to crush the coalition. But very soon Chikkadevaraja was succeeded by Dalavai Kumaraiya for the command of the Mysore army. Dalavoy Kumaraiya, making rapid marches, entered the camp of the enemy at Erode. In the action that followed, Kumaraiya exhibited rare skill and courage in defeating the Kongas; killing Damarlaiyappa Nayaka; in putting to flight Anantha Pandita; capturing the elephant named Kulasekhara and plundering the entire Tamilnad.[2] This event took place in June 1667.[3] Mysore won a brilliant victory over the confederates. Vedoji Pandita and other Maratha officers under the service of Bijapur seem to have fled from the field of action owing to marvelous military skill and rare courage exhibited by the Mysore

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1. C.Vi. V, 39-40.
2. C.Vi., V, 33-90; E.C., (1) Sr. 14 (1686), ll. 36-38; and Hasti Mahat., I, 67 - referring to the siege of Erode and Doddadevaraja's victory over the Nayak of Madura & the Kongas.
3. Wilks, I, P.37, list of conquests: Mys. Dho. Pur, II, 28-29; Ancient India, pp.296-297; Sources, P.21; Nayaks of Madura pp.26, 171-173; and Mys. Gaz., II, iii. 2394-2398. R.Satyanatha Aiyer in his recently published book 'Tamilham in the 17th Century', P.53 assigns 1670 as the date when the battle of Erode took place on the basis of epigraphical evidences but Mys.Dho.Pur. and Wilks explicitly say that the event took place in Jan-June 1667.

army. Maratha officers who stood in good stead with the Madura ruler supporting him with their forces to rise up in arms against Mysore, must have felt the shock of the superior force of Mysore.

In June 1667, Kumaraiya acquired Erode; in November Dharapuram; and in February 1668 Vamalur and the dependencies Kamalur & Samballipura from Ghatta Mudaliar.[1] Chokkanatha submitted without opposition and paid costly presents to Mysore.[2]

The results of this war was that Erode, Dharapur and Trichinopoly were included in the southern limits of Mysore; the pride of Chokkanatha was crushed; and the Maratha influence was checked for the time being.

Encouraged by these easy successes Doddadevaraja Wodeyar, commenced his territorial encroachments of his neighbours. Huliyurdurga in December 1667, Kunigal in January 1668 from Mummadi Kempegowda of Magadi (1658-1678)[3] were easily conquered by him.

Sri Ranga Raya.

The unfortunate representative of the decadent Vijayanagara empire, driven from place to place by unforseen forces of his destiny, was, at last, able to find shelter in the kingdom of Madura from

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1. See Mys. Dho.Pur., II. 28-29 specifically dating these acquisitions in plavanga, Ashada su. 15 (June 25, 1667), Margasira su. 10 (November 15, 1667) and phalguna su. 10 (Feb.12, 1668); Annals I. 97; also Mys. Raj. Cha., I. C.; C.Vij., V, 91 and E.C., III (1) Sr. 14, ll. 38-39 referring to Doddadevaraja's conquests in the south-east of Mysore.
2. Annals, I. 98; Mys. Raj. Cha., I. C; C.Vi, V, 95-96; also Wilks I, 36; Nayaks of Madura, P.162.
3. Mys. Dho. Pur., II. 29; Annals, I. 97; C.Vij., V, 93-94; Hasti. Mah., I, 67; Wilks, I, P.37.

1663-1667 and during the siege of Frode, disappointed in his expectation had quitted the stage of Madura for Trichinopoly about the middle of 1667. Frustrated very much at the break-down of the confederacy he gave up what little hope he had of the imperial restoration. Staying there for one year, he seems to have left for Penukonda in or about 1668 from where, he continued his rule till 1672.[1]

The death of Sriranga has remained a controversial matter for the last thirty years. C.Hayavadana Rao[2] in his book, History of Mysore fixes the date of death of Sriranga as 1681. Dr.S.Krishnaswami Iyengar[3] also gives the same opinion: "He appears to have returned to Penukonda in A.D. 1665. He continued to rule probably until A.D. 1681. R.Satyanatha Aiyer gives the exact date 1672 for the death of Sriranga Raya on the basis of a letter of Fort St. George to the company dated 16-12-1672 which says: "Another cloud begins to gather towards the mountains where the gentue king of Cornatta, whose harsh carriage to his great ones was the losse of this country, being newly dead, a brother's sonn succeeds in his rights".[4]

The entire survey of the activities and movements of Sriranga Raya clearly reveals that his was a disappointed soul.

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1. R.Satyanatha Aiyer: Tamilham in the 17th Century pp. 53-54.
2. History of Mysore, Vol. I, P.237; Mysore Gazetteer, 2407.
3. Further Sources, I. 369.
4. English Records on Shivaji, (Shivaji Tercentenary Memorial series, Vol. VI, Poona, 1931), Vol. I, P.232.

Betrayed again and again by the faithless feudatories, Whenever he approached them for assistance, he became an emperor without an empire. He was deserted not merely by his faithless, disloyal subordinates but even by Maratha leader Shahji who had been hailed by the Hindu accounts like Shiva Bharata, Radhamadhava Vilasa Champu and the Brihadesvara temple inscription as the restorer Hinduism. Shahji, though a Hindu, never cooperated with Sriranga Raya in recovering his ancestral throne. The latter half of his life (1639-1664) had been spent in cooperating with his master the Bijapur Sultan in his conquest of Karnatak. A golden opportunity was offered in 1648 to Shahji when he could contribute his quota to the restoration of the Vijayanagara empire but he missed it. No doubt he was the greatest Hindu General in those days whose help could have saved the empire for some more years. But the circumstances prevented him from doing so.

Doddadevaraja died on January 23rd, 1673[1] at Chikkanayakanahalli while he was touring the State. His dead body was carried to Srirangapatna and cremated on the bank of the Cauvery as desired by him before his death.

Doddadevaraja occupies a unique place in the history of Mysore for having saved the kingdom of Mysore from foreign aggression. Sivappa Nayaka was defeated and driven out from the soil of

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1. Santanambuja cited by Dr.S.Srikantasastri in Q.J.M.S., 1956, P.198; Mys. Dho. Pur., I. 57, II. 23; Annals, I. P.103; Mys. Raj. Cha., 27; Raj. Kath. XII. 476; Wilks, I. P.70; Rice, I. 365; Ancient India, P.298. I have preferred here the first one.

Srirangapatna. During 1663-1664 Doddadevaraja caused great havoc in the kingdom of Ikkeri. Nandinathaiya, the celebrated commander of the Mysore army had increased the reputation of his overlord by launching forth the territorial conquest in the regions of Karnatak-Bijapur-Balaghat. It marked the pinnacle of Nandinathaiya's glory when he inflicted a crushing defeat on Shahji seizing his fabulous wealth, arms and ammunitions.

The formation of a formidable confederacy consisting of reputed Maratha Generals like Vedoji Pandit, Anantoji Pandit and other chieftains by Chokkanatha was a grave crisis to the king of Mysore. But the terror was dispelled when he defeated the confederates in the famous battle of Erode fought in 1667. Like his predecessor, Doddadevaraja had left a compact kingdom to his successor Devaraja Wodeyar.

The relations between the Marathas and the king of Mysore were not friendly on any account. Being harrassed by the plundering expeditions of Mysore, the Marathas bore a severe grudge against the Mysoreans.

Doddadevaraja was succeeded by his brother Devaraja on January 23, 1673 who ruled for only a short period of five months (May 15, 1673).[1] This ruler was completely ignored by the historians

1. In the Santānambuja (drawn up in 1860) Kanthīrava Narasarāja is said to have ruled from Saka 1561, Bahudanya Kartika suddha 2 (28-10-1638) and he was succeeded by Doddadevaraja in Saka 1582, Vikari Bhadrapada suddha 10 (17-8-1659). It is said that he ruled for 13 years, 5 months and 6 days. He was succeeded by Chikkadevaraja on Phalguna Bahula 12, paridhavi, S. 1595 (15-5-1673). Therefore it is likely that Devaraja ruled from (17-8-1659 plus 13 years 5 months and 6 says) = 23 January 1673 to 15-5-1673, the accession of Chikkadevaraja - see Q.J.M.S. special number, 1956, P.198.

of Mysore. But the detailed study of contemporary and later works definitely point to the rule of Devaraja[1] over Mysore however short the period might be. No historical event of any importance seems to have taken during the reign of Devaraja.

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1. See Appendix III

CHAPTER VII.

RISE OF SHIVAJI

Shivaji the Great created an enduring edifice of a kingdom at least as big as Great Britain. He was a great general and a conqueror but he was perhaps greater as a founder of a National state. The whole career of Shivaji was one of struggle and stress. Starting his career with high ideals of protecting the honour of the people in his kingdom, he was careful to abstain from other disgraceful acts and scrupulous enough to maintain the honour of women and children when they fell into his hands.

So far as the origin of Shivaji is concerned, the kannada account maintains that he was a carpenter by caste[1]. But other non-kannada sources maintain that he was a ksatriya. Shahji and Jija Bai, after their marriage, spent a few years happily. In 1629 Jija Bai gave birth to a child, three years after the marriage.

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1. Linganna Kavi (Ke.N.V., IX, pp.137-138) says that while Rana of Udaipur was ruling the kingdom in pomp, he got a son by his first wife whom he named Rana. One day while Rana was returning to his capital from hunting, he saw the daughter of a carpenter in the vicinity of his capital. He married the girl and got by the latter two sons whom he named Shivaji and Sambhaji. One day the three sons of Rana went out on hunting; and as they were tired of hunting they went to take rest under the shade of a tree. While they were reposing, Shivaji asked his brother Rana, the name of a tree which was at a distance. Rana replied that only the sons of carpenter could tell the names of trees. On coming to Udaipur Shivaji and Sambhaji deliberated that they had no claims to the throne as they were born of a mother belonging to a carpenter's caste. The two brothers went to the shrine of Onkareshwara and prayed for his blessings. The God appeared in Shivaji's dream, conferred upon him kingship and directed him to go on hunting the next day and dig the place wherever his shirt would be caught to a plant. The two brothers did accordingly.

(continued on the next page)

He was named Sambhaji. On April 10, 1627,[1] after an interval of eight years, another son was born to them. This was Shivaji, the Founder of the Maratha empire. At the time of his birth Jija Bai was living in an house on the top of Shivner fort. Shivner was one of the seven forts ceded by Shahji to the Moghals according to the terms of the treaty signed in October 1636.[2] In the same year Shahji went over to the side of Bijapur. While he was in Bijapur an interesting event took place.

Very early in his life, Shivaji showed signs of utter repugnance to the treacherous systems and practices of the Muslims in the kingdoms of the Deccan. One day while Shivaji was accompanying his father to the court of the Sultan of Bijapur, he saw to his utter indignation, a Vazir of the Sultan engaging himself in the slaughter of the cows which have been worshipped by the Hindus as sacred animals; and he told his father that it would not be right

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They saw treasure burried underground and with the help of it they built up a kingdom. According to Linganna Kavi the father of Shivaji was Rana of Udaipur but not Shahji. Though the author confuses the genealogy of Shivaji, yet the rest of his work pertaining to the exploits of Shivaji is more or less in complete agreement with other non-kannada sources.

1. There are discrepancies about the date of Shivaji's birth in various Bakhars. Malhar Ram Rao and Shivadigvijaya give the second of the first half of Vaishakh as the date and Thursday as the day of week. But the date and day do not seem to agree. The Rairi's Bakhar, giving the same date and day as in the text gives the year as Saka 1548. Wilks says that he was born on the 17th of May 1626. The Shedgaokar Bakhar gives saturday, the 3rd of the first half of Vaishak, Saka year 1549 as the birth date. While Jedhe chronology dates the event in Saka year 1551, Falgun which would be Feb.1630 A.D. I have preferred here Raja Wade's Marathi Itihasanchi Sadhane, pp. 42-43.
2. Sarkar: Shivaji and His Times, P.23.

and logical to let go the butcher unpunished. Shahji who had thrived on the august state of Bijapur advised his son not to protest against such practices as it would affect his position to a good deal. Turning deaf ear to the admonitions of his father, Shivaji called upon the Vazir and asked him to refrain from indulging in such cruel practices. When the Vazir did not care for him, there ensued a fight between the two. This news was soon communicated to the Sultan who, by summoning the father and the son to his court reminded them of their true positions in a Muslim State.[1]

Fearing that the unruly boy might injure his own prospects of advancement by pursuing anti-Bijapur actvities, Shahji ordered Jija Bai and her son to go away to Poona.[2]

Poona district was a grant made to Shahji by the Bijapur Government. Shahji appointed Dadaji Konde Deva to administer the Jagir. In 1638 both mother and son journeyed to Poona and Shivaji was left there under the guardianship of Dadaji.[3]

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1. Linganna Kavi: Ke. N.V; pp.149-150: Chap, IX, Stanza 42: Shāji tanna maga Shivāji versau pāthusāhanōlagisalava naramane-gaitappavasaradōl āpāthu shāhana vajīranappa turaskam gōvadheyam rachisuttiraladam Shivāji kandu tanna tande Shājige tōrdintu gōvadhe gaivudam kandivarkalam sikshisidallade tāsumma nirpuda-nuchitam ...... Āgalā Shivāji Vājīranam karedintu duskritamam rachisuvēdendu kōpisi ..... laksīkarisadiral kaigalasi yuddham panni balikkivrittāntamellam pāthusāhange kimidāgalagal pāthusāham .... Shāji Shivājigalam Karesi kanaldu jankisi kede nudiyal; See also Kincaid & Parasnis: A.H.M. P, P.16.

2. Kincaid & Parasnis: A.H.M. P. P.16.

3. Kincaid & Parasnis: A.H.M. P. P.16; see and compare Sarkar's Shivaji and His Times, pp. 23-24. Linganna Kavi (Ke.N.V, IX, Verse 42) says that Shivaji unwilling to accept the advise of his father went away to Javli where he raised a strong army to make his fortune.

Education: "Shivaji could never write his name" is the dogmatic assertion of James Grant Duff.[1] But it is a wrong notion. Many letters written by Shivaji himself have come down to us. In the collection of English records on Shivaji, there are about eight references which have a direct bearing on the question of literacy of Shivaji. Phillip Gyfort reports that Raoji Pandit received a letter on the 11th April 1663 from Shivaji, "written himself"[2] giving him an account of the Shaista Khan incident. When we add to the English references, the accounts of Tarikh-i-Shivaji and Shiva Bharata, the combined result of all these point towards the conclusion that Shivaji could write and used to send autographed letters.[3] Shivaji knew several languages. He learnt Bhagavata and Bharata from learned teachers.[4]

Shivaji knew riding, wrestling, spear-throwing, swordsmanship and swimming. Further he could imitate the voices of birds and beasts. He enjoyed to listen to the recitations of Ramayana and Mahabharata.[5]

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1. History of the Maharattas, Vol. I, P.127.
2. English Records on Shivaji, P.53. See also letter No.53 in P.46; letter No.429 in 314; letter No.473, P.347; letter No.198/11, pp.105-106; letter No.224/11, P.118; No.226/11, P.121; letter No.231/11, P.124; letter No.251/11, pp.137-138; letter No.26, P.33. in the same work.
3. J.N.Sarkar: Shivaji and His Times (III edition) P.91, quotes No.60 without any comment on "the letter from the Raja written himself to Raogy". Again in P.27 he asserts that "the weight of the evidence is in favour of the view that Shivaji was unlettered". But he has not given those evidences.
4. Shivacharitra Nibhandavali, II, pp.106-107.
5. Sardesai: N.H.M., Vol.I, pp. 89, 90, 91.

Sardesai[1] in this connection says that "Shivaji was doubtless taught reading and writing". Wilks observes, "For Sevajee(Shivaji) he (Dadaji) procured all the advantages of civil and military education which the state of times could afford".[2] Therefore it is clear that Shivaji knew reading and writing.

<u>Shivaji at Bangalore</u>: When Shahji entered the Bijapur service, the Sultan conferred upon him the old Jagir in Poona and commissioned him to go to Karnataka along with R.D.Khan. Before leaving for Mysore, Shahji entrusted the duty of administering the old Jagir to Dadaji Kondedev. Jija Bai and Shivaji were left behind under his guardianship. Dadaji built a palace called Lal Mahal for their residence.[3]

After the successful termination of the Mysore campaign, Shahji was placed in charge of the conquered districts in Mysore with Bangalore as his headquarters.[4] About 1640 "Dadaji, Shivaji & Jija Bai paid a visit to Bangalore; and for about two years from 1640 to 1643, the whole family was at Bangalore.[5]

Jija Bai and Shahji, having met after their long separation, got Shivaji married to a girl named Sai Bai from the Nimbalkar family of Phalton. In 1640 the marriage was celebrated at Bangalore[6]

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1. Sardesai: N.H.M., Vol.I, pp.89, 90, 91.
2. History of Mysore, Vol.I, P.88.
3. Takakhav: Life of Shivaji Maharaj, P.56.
4. See Chapter IV.
5. Takakhav: Life of Shivaji Maharaj, P.56; Shivaji and His Times (3rd edition), P.24; Sardesai: N.H.M., Vol.I. P.74. The actual date of their visit is nowhere recorded. I have preferred the probable date of Sardesai.

(for foot-note 6 please see next page)

great pomp and eclat. Jija Bai, during her stay at Bangalore, went on piligrimage to several Hindu shrines of Mysore.[1] Being saturated with the traditions of Vijayanagara empire, Bangalore[2] played a pivotal part in the history of Mysore Maratha relations. The court of Shahji at Bangalore was a miniature edition of old Hindu courts; not modelled after the Muslim court of Bijapur or Ahmadnagar. It was in this heart of Hindu empire that Shivaji's ideals were shaped. He resided at Bangalore for some years during his most impressive years of a precocious boyhood. Being saturated with the tales from Ramayana and Mahabharata, Shivaji aspired to be guided by these Epics. Can we expect such a mind to remain impervious and unconcerned with the history of the territories surrounding Bangalore especially when his father was conquering those territories from the heirs of the immortal Vijayanagara, lawfully or otherwise? We can take it for certain that Shivaji's mind was thrilled by the tales of Vijayanagara, by the exploits of its heroes and the cultural work of its learned men like Krishnadeva Raya, Therefore it is clear that Shivaji's ideal was formed in the shadow of Vijayanagara.

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6. Sarkar: Shivaji and His Times (5th edition). Shivaji's marriage is related differently by different authors. Takakhav (Life of Shivaji Maharaj, P.56) says that the marriage was solemnised at Poona while Kincaid and Parasnis(A.H.M.P., P.16) say that Shivaji was wedded at Bijapur. I prefer the former.

1. Sardesai (N.H.M., Vol. I, P.75) thinks that she went on piligrimage because she did not feel at ease as the court of Bangalore was filled with Muslims. But Shiva Bharata, Chapter IX, Radha Madhava Vilasa Champu, Ch.VII (both Sanskrit) say that the court was adorned with Hindu poets and officers.
2. Radha Madhav Vilasa - Champu, Ch.VII; Shiva Bharat, Ch. IX.

Shivaji's way of living; his anxiety to absorb what is best in Hindu culture; his attitude towards Hindu priests and temples; all these speak of the mental make up of Shivaji. He imbibed and cultivated all these ideas at Bangalore and its surrounding parts "where Hindu life was still flowing in its pristine purity unimposed upon by foreign domination".[1]

There were shrewd diplomats and wise and far-sighted counsellors at Shahji's court. They asked questions among themselves as, "was it not Shahji's duty to try and preserve this noble ancient culture and learning? Why should he at least protest against these destructive actions of Bijapur Government?". The boy Shivaji listened to them attentively.[2]

After spending nearly two years, the whole family was sent back by Shahji from Bangalore to Poona with their full retinue in 1643. Those who accompanied the family were confidential officers of Shahji and were well trained in the art of Government at Bangalore.[3]

Paramananda says: "In a few days Shahji Raja gave leave to Shivaji to depart from Bangalore at an auspicious moment, supplying him with infantry, cavalry and elephants, also prominent ministers, renowned instructors, costly flags and insignia of royalty and with

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1. Vij. Sex. Com. Vol. pp. 129-130.
2. Sardesai: N.H.M., Vol. I. P.95.
3. Vij. Sex.Com. Vol. p.128; Shiva Charitra Nibhandavali, Ch. IV; Sardesai: N.H.M., Vol. I, P.95. Sardesai fixes the end of 1642 or the beginning of 1643 as the date when the whole family went to Poona from Bangalore. I have preferred here Sardesai's date not Shejwalker's date of 1641.

plentiful treasure".[1] Shyamrao Nilkanth Peshwa, Balkrishnapant Mazumdar, Balaji Hari Majalsi (Sabhasad), Raghunath Ballal Korde, Sonopant Dabir, Raghunath Ballal Atre Chitnis - these and other officers were well instructed and sent with Shivaji.[2]

__Swarajya__: Having arrived in Poona, Shivaji set himself to the task of achieving Swarajya - swarajya outside the limits of original Jagirs but based upon it.[3] Shivaji dreamed of reestablishing Hindu empire. "I will conquer Delhi from its ancient throne. I will resuscitate Hinduism", said Shivaji.[4] Shivaji was the crown and essence of Hinduism. Labouring hard, day in and day out in the selection of a band of selfless workers and in the reconnaissance of difficult passes in Sahyadri mountains, Shivaji resolved to put his dream into action.

Shivaji drew the attention of his comrades to the hardships inflicted and the wrongs and injustice done to the Hindus by the Muslims. He inspired them to action in the following way:

> "Why remain content with the gifts conferred by foreigners or with our paternal acquisitions only? The whole country is ours and yet it is held by the Muslims. They desecrate our temples, break our idols, plunder our wealth, convert our countrymen forcibly to their religion; we will suffer

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1. Shiva Bharata. X, 25-27.
2. Sardesai: N.H.M., Vol. I. P.96.
3. Ibid.
4. Nanalal Dalpatram Kavi: A saviour of Hinduism (translated into English from original Gujarati) - Shivaji Souvenir, P.120.

this treatment no more. Let us draw our sword in defence of our sacred religion and liberate our native country".[1]

The horrible cruelties perpetrated in the south by the Muslims moved Shivaji to righteous indignation. Soon he set himself to work out his designs. Sinhagad was attacked and reduced to submission.[2] In 1646 Torna was captured.[3] Shivaji secured here large amount of treasures which helped him enormously in his preparatory work.[4] Within a very short period Shivaji established his authority over Maval country.[5] Acquisition of Rohida, construction of Raygad and organisation of Mawale youths created a great uneasiness among the hostile groups of the successor states of the Bahamani empire.

<u>Dadaji at Bangalore</u>: In 1646 Dadaji Kondedeva visited Shahji at Bangalore and explained the growing political situation at Bijapur consequent on the activities of Shivaji. He seemed to have begged instructions from Shahji as to his future policy.[6] Dadaji passed away on March 7th, 1647, a year later after his return from Bangalore.[7] Thereafter Shivaji became the sole master of the Poona Jagir.

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1. Sabhasad as cited by Sardesai: N.H.M., Vol.I, P.97.
2. Sardesai: N.H.M., Vol.I, P.99.
3. Ibid.
4. Kincaid and Parasnis: A.H.M.P., P.22.
5. Sardesai: N.H.M., Vol.I. pp.99-100.
6. Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. XXXI, 1955, P.269; Shiva Kalin Patra Sara Sangrah, Vol.III, P.173.
7. Sardesai: N.H.M., Vol.I. P.102. Wilks (I. P.88) says that Shivaji cared little to his teacher and that he was responsible for the death of the latter. But Sardesai (I, P.99) says that Dadaji whole-heartedly supported the new movement of Shivaji. From this it is clear that Shivaji never disregarded his teacher.

Shivaji sent Sambhaji to Bangalore: Resuming his policy of territorial conquest, Shivaji captured Chakan naming it Sangramdurg. Then Shivaji took Purandar from Nilo Nilakanth Sarnaik, Governor of Bijapur. The fort proved to him of immense value in the long run.[1] One night Shivaji marched on Supa and took possession of it by plundering all its belongings. Its Governor, Sambhaji, an unfriendly relation of Shivaji (Sambhaji's sister Tuka Bai was married to Shahji) was sent under proper escort to Bangalore, some where between 1649 - 1652.[2]

The seal of Shivaji: The unique seal of Shivaji compares the slow but sure growth of the Swarajya to the progress of the Moon which by degrees attains fulness on the purnima day.[3] Like the official seal, Shivaji assumed the title Chhatrapati long before the celebration of his coronation in 1674, during the first stage of his Swarajya.[4]

Conquest of Javli: Shivaji realized that his independence movements would remain incomplete, if Chandra Rao of Javli was not reduced to submission. When all his peaceful efforts proved null and void in bringing round Chandra Rao, Shivaji declared war; and a terrible battle was fought near Javli in which Chandra Rao was killed and Javli was taken possession of (26th January 1656).

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1. Ibid, pp. 102-103.
2. Sardesai: N.H.M., Vol.I, pp.103-104; Kincaid and Parasnis: A.H.M.P., P.24.
3. Ibid: N.H.M., Vol.I, P.104. "The seal of Shiva, the son of Shah shines forth for the good (of the people). It is to increase daily like the first phase of the Moon and is going to be respected by the universe". The seal was used in papers from 1645 onwards.
4. Ibid, pp.105-106.

Shivaji obtained here large amount of accumulated treasures; and two miles west of Javli he built a new fort, pratapgad.[1] It was in this year Shivaji started his independent career.[2]

Shivaji's earliest raid into Karnatak: Consequent upon the death of Muhammad Adil Shah of Bijapur on November 4th, 1656, a serious controversy arose among the nobles of the court on the question of lawful heir to the throne. Taking advantage of this civil faction, Shivaji launched forth his first Karnatak expedition and grabbed whatever he could. He marched at the head of a powerful army and encamped at Masur in the vicinity of Bednur, on the northern border of Mysore. As soon as the arrival of Shivaji was communicated to the Shah of Bijapur, the latter immediately detached Iklas Khan, the son of Khan Muhammad and the Subahadar of Karnataka to intercept the raid. The army of Iklas Khan was strongly reinforced by Rauloji Ghorapare, Venkatadri Nagoji and Hanumantha Gowda. In the action that followed between the two armies, Shivaji was completely routed and driven out. This was the most ignominious defeat sustained by Shivaji for the first time in Karnataka on Jan.5th, 1657 A.D.[3]

North and South Konkan seized: During 1655 Shivaji learnt from his spies that the Sultan of Bijapur ordered the Governor of Kalyan

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1. Ibid, pp.112-113; Kincaid and Parasnis: A.H.M.P., Pp. 32-33; Sarkar: Shivaji and His Times, pp.40-45; Ke.M.V., (Ch.IX, P.150). See also Jedhe Sakavali in Shivaji Souvenir, P.7.
2. D.V.Apte: I.H.R.C. Proceedings, Vol. XVII, pp.44-46.
3. The Karnataka Historical Review, Vol. V, Part II. July 1938, pp.20-21. The author of the article, G.H.Khare has arrived at this this conclusion mainly relying on the three documents which he secured from (1) the Ghorpade family at Kolhapur, (2) Venkatadri Srinivasa Bahadur Desai of Gadag(Dharwar) and (3) Baba Sahib Bahadur Desai of Guttal (Dharwar).

named Mulla Ahmad to transfer his accumulated treasure to Bijapur. Soon Shivaji detached one party to fall on the load of treasures and transfer it straight way to his residence; and other party to subdue Kalyan. The scheme was highly successful. Towards the end of 1657, the whole province of North Konkan came into his hands. From there he turned towards the south and returned to Rajgad after inspecting the country.[1]

<u>Karnatak expeditions of Shivaji</u>: B.G.Khare on the basis of Adil Shahi farmans and a Marathi document traces another Karnatak expedition undertaken by Shivaji in the year 1658, but the details of the war were lost in obscurity.[2] The same author proves on the basis of Adil Shahi document that Shivaji raided as far as Terdal (Bijapur) in the early part of 1659 A.D.[3]

<u>Afzal Khan's end</u>: Troubles and tribulations that Shivaji had been giving to Bijapur made the young prince Ali call upon his nobles, at the suggestion of Badi Sahiba, the widowed queen, to volunteer for the command of the army destined to destroy Shivaji and his followers. In the meanwhile the young Sultan called upon Shahji and directed him to punish his son Shivaji for his disloyal conduct. Linganna Kavi writes: "The Bijapur Sultan, having heard the turbulant activities of Shivaji summoned Shahji and angrily ordered him to bring to his presence his son". Further the Sultan

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1. Sardesai: N.H.M., Vol.I. pp.115-116; Sarkar: Shivaji and His Times, pp.55-56.
2. I.H.R.C. Proceedings 1953, Part II, pp.70-71.
3. Ibid.

threatened that "if he failed to capture his son, Shivaji, he (the Sultan) himself would undertake to capture and kill him".[1] Shahji replied that his son was not acting under his eyes and orders[2] and as such he could not be held responsible for the acts of his son. He also pointed out that he had no objection to any step that the Bijapur Government could adopt in dealing with his son.[3] Having understood the relations between the son and the father, the Sultan wrote a letter to Shahji on May 26, 1658:

> "Be it known to his loyal subject that the improper conduct and acts of Shivaji are evident to his Majesty. Therefore faults of Shivaji will not be laid upon you. Hence keep your mind composed".[4]

Shahji alone stood by his master as a loyal officer during critical times of Bijapur. Then Bijapur sent Afzal Khan[5] against Shivaji.

Afzal Khan was secretly instructed by the Sultan to capture Shivaji dead or alive by pretending friendship.[6] One of the English Factory records says: "Against Shivaji, the Queen, sent Abdullah Khan with an army of 10,000 horse and foot and because she knew with that strength he was not able to resist Shivaji, she

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1. Ken.N.V., Ch.IX, P.151: Mikku mīri varthisutirpa tacchivājiyadatam Vijāpurada pāthusāham kēldu Shāhjiyam karedu kōpisi, ninnamaganam karetarisilladodavanam piditarisi nigrahisidepe.
2. Ibid, Atanenna mātinolillam.
3. Sardesai: N.H.M., Vol.I, P.123.
4. Sarkar: House of Shivaji, P.84.
5. In Ke.N.V., P.151 his name is mentioned as Abdulla Khan, apparantly a seribal error.
6. Ke.N.V., Ch. IX, P.151.

counselled him to pretend friendship with his enemy which he did".[1] Afzal Khan came with rapid marches and encamped at wai, about 16 miles east of Pratapgad whither Shivaji and his mother had already come and taken up their residence. Interview was fixed to be held at Pratapgad on November 10, 1659 between Shivaji and Afzal Khan. When Shivaji arrived in at the appointed place, Afzal Khan rose up and embraced him tightly. Without losing courage, Shivaji thrust his short sword into Khan's body and killed him.[2] Thus Sambhaji's death at Kanakagiri was avenged by his brother.

<u>Conquest of Panhala and its surrounding places</u>: Afzal Khan's episode proves once again the decline of the Bijapur State. With the falling fortunes of Bijapur, Shivaji's independence movement became quicker and sharper. Shivaji attacked Panhala and its surrounding districts of Kolhapur, Vasantgad, Khelna and Rangna and took possession of them. Raibag, Gadag and Lakshmesvar were plundered and reduced. By the end of January 1660 Shivaji was found at Rajgad with vast booty at his disposal.[3] The kannada account maintains that "Shivaji with the object of subduing the whole Bijapur kingdom, raised a strong army and conquered Pannali (Panhala), Vasantgad and other surrounding places".[4]

The Sultan of Bijapur in his / perplexity summoned his

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1. Revington at Rajpur to Company, 10, December 1659.
2. Ke.N.V., IX, P.151: Abdullā Khānanemba Vajīranam bhētimukhadōlala gurenbāyudhadim Shivāji ghātangail. See also Sardesai: N.H.M., Vol.I, pp.121-130; Sarkar: Shivaji and His Times, pp. 59-73; Kincaid and Parasnis: A.H.M.P., pp.37-41; Grant Duff: A.H.M., Vol.I, P.173.
3. Sardesai: N.H.M., Vol.I, pp.130-131.
4. Linganna Kavi: Ke.N.V., Ch.IX, P.150, Vs. 44-45.

Viceroy, Siddi Jauhar of Karnool, honoured him with the title of Salabat Khan and ordered him to lead an expedition against Shivaji. Salabat Khan with the assistance of Baji Ghorpade, Rustam-i-Zaman, and the English factors of Rajapur, proceeded and encamped at Panhala in May 1660.

It was exactly in this year that Shaista Khan, a renowned Moghal Commander, stepped on the soil of the Deccan as the Governor, taking up his residence at Ahmadnagar. Realising the precarious position of Shivaji at Panhala, Shaista Khan left Ahmadnagar in February 1660 and occupied Poona in May. Thus Shivaji was about to be crushed by "two huge grinders."

Finding the futility of resistance, Shivaji opened negotiations with Salabat Khan. When siege operations were stopped, Shivaji, on the dark night of July 1660, slipped away and by day-break he found himself safe at Vishalgad. On 22 September 1660, Shivaji delivered Panhala to Bijapur and concluded peace.[1]

In 1661 Shivaji pounced upon the Moghals, who had been detached by Shaistakhan to conquer Kalyan, in the narrow defiles of Umbar Khind and exacted heavy ransom. Thereafter Shivaji conquered Konkan territory and looted English Factories.[2]

<u>Night raid on Shaista Khan</u>: Shaista Khan's conquest of Kalyan, devastating expeditions in the neighbouring territories of Poona

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1. Sardesai: N.H.M., Vol.I, pp.131-133.
2. Ibid, pp. 137-139.

and inhuman cruelties were a source of alarm to Shivaji. Taking up his residence at Sinhgad, Shivaji had been waiting to make a sudden dash on Khan's residence at Poona. That day came. On April 5th, 1663, during dark hours, Shivaji attacked Shaista Khan in his bed room, cut of his fingers and fled away. Khan's son Abdull Fateh was killed; and two other sons and maid servants were wounded.[1] This is confirmed by kannada source which says:

> "Aurangzeb despatched his maternal-uncle, Shaista Khan with instructions to capture Shivaji, who was causing disturbabances in his (Aurangzeb's) empire. Marching with all his rapidity at the head of a large army, Shaistakhan laid siege to Poona".[2] "Having come to know of this, Shivaji personally attacked, cut off Khan's fingers and slipped away in darkness".[3] Further it maintains that

shaistakhan who was afflicted with great fear, soon made his way to Delhi with the wreck of the army, interviewed the Emperor and told him all that happened at Poona.[4] But non-kannada sources reveal that in great haste, Shaista Khan retired to Aurangabad. This being communicated to the Emperor, the latter transferred Shaistakhan to Bengal as the Governor.[5]

After this spectacular incident, Shivaji attacked Surat and carried away great riches in early January 1664.[6]

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1. Shiva Charitra Sahitya, 5. 12 as cited by Sardesai: N.H.M., Vol.I, pp.143-144; Factory Record of Surat - Letters of 12, April and 24 May 1663; Bernier Travels, P.187; Storia Do Mogor ii. 104-106; Sabhasad, 35-37; Khafi Khan, ii, 172-175.
2. Linganna Kavi makes Panhala which is wrong.
3. Linganna Kavi: Ke.N.V., Ch IX, P.152. Vs. 49, 50, 51.
   V.49: Balikavana rajyagalolupaṭalavam rachisalke tanna māvanenippagga la naha Shāistakhānana nalavim bīlkode

(continued)

Affairs of Mysore: As soon as Shivaji returned to Rajgad, he heard the sad news of the sudden death of his father near Hodigere in Shimoga district on 23rd January 1664 in an accident while engaged in hunting.[1] The kannada account says that Shahji died of some disease in the neighbourhood of Sira while he was on his way from Tanjore to Bijapur.[2]

Shivaji went to Hodigere and distributed large sums of money in charity. He caused to be constructed a building over the spot where his father had fallen. After making due arrangements for lamp-burning in the building to honour the dead man's spirit, Shivaji returned to Maharashtra.[3]

Shivaji's Karnatak expedition, 1664: Somashekara Nayaka, the ruler of Bednur (1664-1671) did not begin his rule in an happy augury because the whole atmosphere of the Deccan and the coast of Kanara was thrown into great confusion and chaos of a civil war. Taking advantage of this situation, Shivaji projected his campaign of conquest. He fitted out four vessels to Kanara while he wished to go overland with an army. He reached Barakur by sea and dismissed

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Shivajiyam tahudenuta.

V.50: Kaḍugali Shāistakhānam paḍeverasu teraldu shīgradim Pannāli (Poona) 1 gaḍamam muttalkōrvane naḍetandu Shivājiyavana gōntam pōgutam.

V.51: Chharikade Shāistakhānana beralam kattarisi nishiyolam pogal.

4. Ibid, IX, Vs.,51-52.
5. Sardesai: N.H.M., P.144.
6. Ibid, pp.144-149; Sarkar: Shivaji & His Times, pp.93-101.

1. See the Vth Chapter.
2. Linganna Kavi: Ke.N.V., IX, P.152. The kannada account concerning Shahji's death seems to me less reliable.
3. Kincaid and Parasnis: A.H.M., P., P.68.

the greater part of his fleet at Gokarna, scourged the country and exacted heavy contribution from Karwar, towards which the English Factory paid £ 112. It appeared to be a plundering expeditions for he conquered and annexed to his kingdom not an inch of land in Kanara. Again in 1665 Shivaji appeared before Bednure with 85 brigades, collected a booty of 80,000 guilders and set sail.[1]

Shivaji and Jai Singh: The discomfiture of Shaista Khan and the sack of Surat caused bitter mortification to Aurangzeb who immediately called on Jai Singh to his presence and ordered him to bring Shivaji a prisoner by making sudden advance on his capital city.[2] Accordingly Jai Singh arrived at Poona on March 3rd, 1665 with full equipments.

Jai Singh occupied important places around Poona and prevented Shivaji from having any foot hold. Above all he appealed to the English at Bombay, Portuguese at Goa for help. The Nayak of Bednur helped Jai Singh in men and materials.[3]

Jai Singh despatched Dilir Khan to lay siege to Purandar. Dilir Khan went and stormed the fort, killing Murar Baji, the defender of the fort. Being alarmed at the increasing difficulties

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1. Grant Duff: H.M., P.91; Batava Dagh Register, 1665, 166; Sarkar: Shivaji and His Times, pp.233-235; Lewis Rice: Mysore Gazetteer, Vol.II, P.434.
2. Ke.N.V., IX, P.153.
3. Sardesai: N.H.M., Vol.I, P.155. But we have no reference in kannada sources to this military help.

Shivaji opened negotiations with Jai Singh and Dilir Khan and concluded the treaty of Purandar in June 1665. One of the important terms of the treaty was that Shivaji should join Jai Singh in reducing Bijapur and that his son Sambhaji should accept a command of 5000 horse in the Imperial service. This treaty was ratified by Aurangzeb.[1] Shivaji joined Jai Singh with his contingents, and the combined armies moved to Mangalvedhe on December 18th, 1665. Here Maloji Ghorpade of Mudhol and Ekoji from Bangalore joined the Bijapur forces under Sharza Khan and Khawas Khan who had arrived from Bijapur to oppose the Moghals. For the first time the two brothers, Shivaji and Ekoji stood face to face in an open combat.[2] A sanguinary action took place in which the Bijapuris were completely defeated. While Shivaji had been conquering one country after another, Aurangazeb had been writing letters of appreciation to the former. In one of the letters Aurangzeb invited the Maratha prince to his court, promising free permission to return home whenever he wished.[3]

In the meanwhile Shivaji met Jai Singh. Linganna Kavi says: "When Shivaji came and paid a visit to Jai Singh, the latter shook his hand. Then Shivaji smilingly said to Jai Singh that if he had the vigour to hold him by his hand, he could do so; otherwise he should honourably leave him (Shivaji). On hearing this Jai Singh

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1. Kincaid and Parasnis: A.H.M.P., pp.69-72; Sardesai: N.H.M., Vol.I, pp. 156-162; Grant Duff: A.H.M., Vol.I, pp.208-210; Sarkar: House of Shivaji, Ch. IX.
2. Sardesai: N.H.M., Vol.I, pp. 161-162.
3. Grant Duff: A.H.M., Vol.I, pp. 211-212; Kincaid and Parsnis: A.H.M.P., pp.72-73.

told him categorically that he would not let him go when once he held him by his hand".[1] Probably Jai Singh insisted on Shivaji to go to the Imperial court.

Having held long deliberations with Jija Bai and other courtiers, Shivaji decided to visit the Emperor. Shivaji made arrangements for the smooth working of his administrative machinery and set out for Delhi. Linganna Kavi says:

> "Shivaji, accompanied by his son, Sambhaji set out for Delhi, attended by a small contingent".[2]

Some weeks' travel brought the party to Delhi on May 9th, 1666.

<u>Shivaji's interview with Aurangzeb:</u> Shivaji paid a visit to Aurangzeb on May 12th, 1666 and was received most warmly by the Emperor.[3] Shivaji presented a Nazar or offering of Rs.30,000. Highly elated at the presentation, Aurangzeb cried out, "Come up, Shivaji Raja, Come up "! "Aurangzeb honoured Shivaji with suitable presents and conducted him to a specially constructed house where he was imprisoned".[4] This is the version of Linganna. Other non-kannada sources state that Shivaji was accorded a place along with the mansabdars of 5000 horse in the court of Aurangzeb. Shivaji considered this as an insult and resented. Consequently Shivaji was

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1. Ke.N.V., IX, P.153: Shivājiyaithandu bhētiyam kolakgalā Jayasingam Shivājiya hasthamam pidiyalāgalā Shivaji nasunaguthenna hasthamam pidiva bal pullode pidivudalladirdode mānpudenalā mātham Jaya-singam kēldu kaividida balikkam biduvenalla menal.
2. Ke.N.V., IX, P.153: Sabhasad says that Shivaji started for the North with his son, seven trusty chief officers and 4000 troops (Shivaji and His Times, P.142 (3rd edition); Shedgavkar Bakhar says that Shivaji took with him 1,000 infentry and 3000 horse (A.H.M.P., P.74). Khafi Khan and Parasnis Manuscripts place the scene of Shivaji's detention at Agra. But Grant Duff, Ranade place the scene at Delhi. The latter authorities are corroborated by kannada source.
3. Ke.N.V., IX, P.153; Shivaji and His Times, P.143. F.N.

(foot note continued on the next page)

dismissed without any ceremony or return-presents and sent to a house nearby where he learnt that he was a Moghal prisoner.[1]

The trick played by Aurangzeb created great mortification to the sensitive spirit of Shivaji who set about devising plans for his escape. To work out his plan, the first and foremost thing was to enlist the sympathy of the Kotwal who guarded his prison. Linganna Kavi says,

> "Sojourning there for several days, Shivaji enlisted the confidence of the Kotwal (Kavi Kalasa) by various means, and through him obtained the permission of the Emperor to send presents, sweet meats and choice dishes to his several Vazirs and Umars"[2]

<u>The wonderful escape</u>:

The same author continues as follows,

> "After taking the permission of the Emperor, Shivaji collected a number of big but light baskets, filled each one of them with various types of grains and clothes, fruits and precious articles; and on every

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4. Ibid, IX, P.153: Avarangazēbana bhētiyam kolalmannisi yuchitamāduḍugore vilyangalanithādarisi bidārakke teralchi ...chankiyanikkisi.

1. English Records on Shivaji, Vol.I, pp.113-115; Sabhasad as cited in Shivaji and His Times, pp. 144-145; A.H.M.P., P.74.

2. Ke. N.V., IX, P.153: Shivāji Sambhāji verasu kelavu dina miruthum kramadim nānā prakāradinda kavi kalasana nolagu mādikondu ninna samsthānadolirpa vajira umaravu galgautana udugere galam madisalvēlkendu pāthu sāhanindappane vettu.

day he used to send a basket to each of his Vazirs. By continuing this practice for several days, Shivaji created an impression in the minds of the guards that he was reliable".[1]

At first the kotwal used to examine every basket that was passing out of his house. But as the practice of sending and receiving baskets continued long, the kotwal was disgusted and let the baskets pass unexamined. This was the opportunity for which Shivaji had been waiting. Shivaji suddenly announced that he was ill. He sent word to his guards not to disturb him. A few hours later he gave out that he had been recovering. Charities were distributed.[2]

> "Availing himself of the opportunity", Linganna Kavi says, "Shivaji put a long pillow on his cot and at the top of it another small pillow; and covered them with his bed-sheets, creating an impression on the guards that he was still sleeping in his bed. Then Shivaji put Sambhaji into one basket and himself got into another and were carried to the house of Jai Singh. There they disguised themselves as fakirs and started their journey".[3]

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1. Ke.N.V., IX,PP.153-154: Appenevettu sthūla sūksmangalāda pētikegalam sangrahisi yavarōl tandu ladhaka ..... sakāla dhānya nānā phala padārtha parimaladraivya tāmbūla vichitra vasanadi vasthūtkarangalam tumbisi chararinda pētikegalam nondondu dinadōl ōrōrva vajirara manege kaluputtiprakāramāda nadeteyim nacchu hāki.
2. Grant Duff: History of the Maharattas, Vol.I, pp.214-215; Kincaid and Parasnis: A.H.M.P. P.76.
3. Ke.N.V., IX, P.154: Ondu dinadoltām malanguva pasinōl nīlamādondu lōdam malagisi taledimbanikki tām podeda vasthravanālōdinge podeyisi nolparge tānendinanthe malangirpanemba bhāvamam puttisi balikkā Shivāji tanna maganondu pettigeyōl pugisi tānondu pettigeyōl pokku ..... Jayasinganālayamam sārdu mathamalli pakīra vēsamam tāldu poramattu.

Sabhasad Bakhar and Kafi Khan seem to differ from the account of kannada source although they are in agreement with it as far as the main event in respect of Shivaji was concerned. Sabhasad Bakhar says that that evening Shivaji and his son got each into a sweet-meat basket and their remaining followers, disguised as porters carried them out. One only of his retinue, the faithful Hiraji Pharzand stayed behind.[1] Kafi Khan says that Hiraji Pharzand who looked some what like Shivaji, lay down on Shivaji's cot and covered his head with a muslin, but left exposed one of his hands upon which Shivaji had placed his own ring.[2]

Thevenot the French traveller who was then at Agra has recorded what he ~~saw and~~ heard on the spot. As he was an eye-witness of the event, we can take him as a reliable source of information.[3]

<u>Route of Shivaji's flight</u>: Shivaji and his son rode on a fast horse and reached Mathura the next day. There Shivaji left his son to the care of some faithful priests and started his journey.[4] It was unsafe to take a direct route to the Deccan. Therefore Shivaji went to Benares and worshipped God Vishweswara with all his devotion. From Benares he went to Gaya where he went through the usual routine of worship. Then he turned his direction and

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1. Sabhasad Bakhar, 52-54.
2. Kafi Khan, ii. 198-201.
3. See Appendix IIIA
4. Grant Duff: H.M. Vol.I, P.215. Linganna Kavi says that Shivaji advised hs son, Sambhaji to proceed to Panhala with care and caution, disguised as a fakir. (Ke.N.V., IX, P;154)

journeyed to Golkonda.[1] There Shivaji acquainted himself with Akkanna and Madanna, the two powerful administrators of the Golkonda kingdom. The latter immediately communicated the arrival of the great hero to Qutb Shah, the ruler of Golkonda for namesake and made arrangements for their personal meeting. On the appointed hour Shivaji went to the palace and met the Sultan who, feeling happy for the occasion, honoured the former with several costly presents. Taking leave of the Shah, Shivaji rode on horse and reached Panhala safely.[2] From Panhala he rode in state to Rajgad on 20th November 1666.[3]

Jija Bai saw her son and received him with open arms. His return to Rajgad was followed by widespread rejoicings throughout Maharashtra.

Not long afterwards Sambhaji reached home, Shivaji rewarded the faithful three brahmins Krishnaji, Kashi Rao and Visaji; gave them the title of Vishwas Rao (Lords of Fidility) and a lakh of gold pices and settled on them an annual revenue of 10,000 hun. The devoted companions of his own escape were similarly rewarded.[4]

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1. Ke.N.V., IX, 154. Vs. 55-56.
   V.55: Varakāsikshētravana garuvantha pordimindu vāranāsiyōl parama bhaktiyōle vishve shvaranadiyam bhajisi kūde gayeyam sārdam
   V.56: Mirupākshētradolam mige virachipa krityagalanaide tirchi kalikkam Teraldallinde tadāreya Rere yam tam Gōlukande yavanure sardam See also Shivadigvijaya Bakhar in A.H.M.P. P.77.
2. K.E.N.V., IX, 154, Verses 57-58.
3. Jedhe Sakavali cited in Shivaji Souvenir, P.16. See and Compare Grant Duff: A.H.M., Vol.I, P.216; Kincaid & Parsanis: A.HM.P., P.77.
4. Sabhasad, P.57.

In the meanwhile in Delhi Shivaji did not rise as usual. As stillness was reigning supreme in the prison, the guards began to suspect the presence of Shivaji. They went and saw to their utter bewilderment that the bird had flown away . Immediately they ran and reported to the Emperor the flight of Shivaji. Aurangzeb became furious and rebuked the guards for their negligence of duty. Immediately Aurangzeb sent out a band of spies; and also a huge army instructing them to make a thorough search of the missing prince in all places.[1] While the entire army engaged itself in the thorough search of the prince in all four directions, Aurangzeb learnt that Shivaji had left Gaya and reached Pannali(Panhala).[2]

Aurangzeb also wrote to the Sultan of Bijapur asking him to make a search and send the escapologist with proper escort in case he was captured there.[3]

How Aurangzeb felt for the flight of Shivaji can be seen in his own writing:

> "The greatest pillar of a government is the keeping of information about everything that happens in the kingdom, while even a minute's negligence results in shame for long years. See, how the flight of

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1. Ke.N.V., IX, P.155. V.59: Mige nētōjiya poutranam bidade kaivarchaukiyōḷkāṇadubbēgadindam davarangazēba garupal keldemmoḷim tāreyam dagegeyda vedegeydidam bedaki shīgram tappu dendarduke-mmogarānmam biḍadaṭṭidam prabala sēna bhāraram chāraram.
2. Ibid. P.155. V.60: Teralda vargalnālgaḍegalō Lorasuṭṭire tacchivāji Gayeyim porama Ture pannāḷiyanaidida pariyam kēḷdu turuskapatiyati khatiyim .
3. Ke.N.V., IX, P.155, Verse 61: Kaḍugali Shāhjiya sutanam pidīdavange kaypanikki kaḷupuvudiradennedegīgendu Vijāpura doḍeyangamlēchchapam nirūpisi kaḷupal .

the wretch Shiva, which was due to carelessness, has involved me in all these distracting camapigns to the end of my days."[1]

Jai Singh was still in the South making tremendous preparations to reduce Bijapur. Now Bijapur and Golkonda united and made a surprise attack on the encampment of Jai Singh who in his distressing position wrote the Emperor the trouble of further investment and awaited orders. Aurangzeb disgraced and recalled him. In his place was appointed Shahzada Muazzam who took over the charges from Jai Singh at Aurangabad in May 1667. But the war-worn Rajput died at Burhanpur on August 28th, 1667 on his way to Delhi.[2]

After his escape from Delhi, Shivaji had no inclination to involve himself in hopeless wars as his full determination lay in the conservation of his energies. Therefore he appealed to the new governor of the Deccan for imperial favours. Muazzam recommended Shivaji's offer to Aurangzeb who, having accepted the proposals of Shivaji, recognized the latter's title of "Raja".[3] Further Aurangzeb conferred upon Shivaji his father's old fief of Poona, Chakan and Supa[4] and the neighbouring forts except Sinhgad and Purandar. On August 5th, 1668 Sambhaji entered the Moghal camp

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1. Quoted from Sarkar's Shivaji & His Times, P.157.
2. Kincaid and Parasnis: A.H.M.P., P.78; Sardesai: N.H.M., Vol.I, pp.182-183.
3. Sarkar: House of Shivaji, pp. 180-182.
4. Ranade: Rise of Maratha Power, P.108.

as a commander of 5,000. Jagirs were assigned to him in Berar for his expenses. With his entry to the Moghal side, Shâvaji became more powerful than ever before.

Shivaji's conquest of Sinhgad, Surat and Salher: The peace-treaty (March 9, 1668) that Shivaji and Aurangzeb entered into did not last long. There arose difference of opinion between Muazzam and his overbearing lieutenant Dilir Khan. The latter, having seen Shivaji and Muazzam living on amicable terms, reported the Emperor that they were plotting to overthrow his Majesty. Relying on such false report, Aurangzeb ordered his son to arrest Shivaji. Muazzam who sympathised with the Marathas, communicated the matter privately and enabled them to go home[1] before the order came to his hand. Just at the same time Aurangzeb issued orders (April 19th, 1669) for the persecution of the Hindus. Hindu schools were demolished; temples were desecrated; Jizia was imposed; Hindus were forbidden to enter officew; and Hindu fairs and festivities were forbidden.[2]

Now Shivaji recommenced his aggression upon the Moghal territories. Early in January 1670, he raided Berar and took 25 lacs. On February 4th, 1670 he conquered Sinhgad. Next Purandar was attacked and taken on March 8th, 1670. At the same time Shivaji's generals raided Chandwad near Nasik and carried away great riches.

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1. Kincaid and Parasnis: A.H.M.P., pp.79-80; Sardesai: N.H.M., Vol.I, P.187.

2. Sarkar: Aurangzeb, Vol.III, pp.264-286; Sardesai: N.H.M., Vol.I, pp.188-189.

Kalyan and Bhivandi were captured. On June 16th, 1670 Mahuli was surrendered to Shivaji. By the end of April 1670, Junnar, Ahmadnagar, Parande and many other Moghal territories were plundered and heavy contributions were collected. Thus Shivaji set out to avenge the humiliation done to the Hindus at large.[1] On October 3rd, 1670 Shivaji plundered Surat, the city of great riches. On the 3rd day when he came to know of the advancing tide of the Moghal army to relieve Surat, Shivaji retraced his steps with vast amount of booty. While Shivaji was marching in the vicinity of Chandwad, the Moghal army attacked. A sanguinary battle was fought near Vani and Dindori in which 3,000 Moghals and a few Marathas were killed. Then Shivaji led his troops and treasures safely to Rajgad.[2] Then Shivaji captured Khandesh, forts of Aundha, Patta, Trimbak and Salher. The latter fort fell on January 5th, 1671.

The second sack of Surat and the conquest of Baglana by the Marathas roused Aurangzeb to the lively consciousness of the danger that threatened him. Adopting the retaliatory measures, the Moghals took back Aundha and Patta in 1671 and 1672 respectively. The relieving Maratha army that went to Salher was cut to pieces by the Moghals.[3] On the question of Salher, a bloody battle was fought in the first week of February 1672 between the Marathas and the Moghals in which the latter were completely defeated. Thereupon

1. Sardesai: N.H.M., Vol.I, pp.189-192; Kincaid and Parasnis: A.H.M. P., pp.80-83.
2. Ibid, pp.192-194; Ibid; pp.84-85.
3. Kincaid and Parasnis: A.H.M. P., pp.85-86.

the Marathas took Salher & Mulher and stationed guards over there.[1]

<u>Capture of Panhala</u>: Shivaji now, turned his attention towards the affairs of Bijapur. Consequent upon the death of Ali Adil Shah II on November 24, 1672, fight for power was commenced in the court of Bijapur. Taking advantage of this court faction, Shivaji sent his generals and conquered Panhala in March 1673. But the Bijapur Government protested and immediately sent out Bahlol Khan to take back Panhala. The Marathas and Bijapuris met at Umbrani between Miraj and Bijapur; and in the battle that was fought on April 15th, 1673, the Bijapuris were routed. Though the hostility ceased for some time between the two parties yet it recommenced owing to the rebellious attitude of Bahlol Khan. pratap Rao fighting on the side of Shivaji, pounced upon the enemy in the narrow pass of Nesari near Gad-Hinglaj about a mile to the north of the Ghatanrabha river but died fighting.

Pratap Rao's friend Anand Rao took the field and plundered Sampgaon (23rd March 1674). While he was returning, Bahlol Khan surprised him; but Ananda Rao drove him back and returned home.[2]

CORONATION 1674.

Shivaji wanted to crown himself as a king, but there were

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1. Sardesai: N.H.M., Vol.I, pp. 195-201.
2. Sarkar: Shivaji and His Times, Ch. IX, pp. 208-209; Sardesai: N.H.M., Vol.I, P.207.

certain impediments in the way. Though his actions proved his claims for coronation, yet theoritically his position was that of a subject: to the Moghal Emperor he was a mere Zamindar; to the Adil Shah he was a rebellious son of a Vassal Jagirdar.[1] Further the orthodox Brahmins had never recognized Shivaji as a Ksatriya. They were not without reasons in their opinions. In fact the Bhonsles were held neither as Ksatriyas nor as twice-born caste, but mere tillers of the soil as Shivaji's great grand father had appeared to be. According to kannada account Shivaji was a carpenter by caste. The suspicion - whether he could lay claims to the coronation ceremony or not - had been haunting the mind of Shivaji; and in order to clear his doubts and fears, Shivaji wished to find out a renowned scholar. Such a man was found in Vishweshvar, nick-named Gaga Bhatta of Benarese.[2] He was the greatest scholar then alive, a sanskrit theologian and a controversialist, a master of four Vedas, the six philosophies. He was popularly known as Brahma deva and Vyasa of the age.

The kannada account says: "he (Shivaji) invited Gaga Bhatta from Benares and held long deliberations on his claims for coronation. Having heard all about their origin, Gagha Bhatta said 'Though you are born in a low caste from the mother side, you are a ksatriya from the father as he belongs to a solar race of

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1. Sarkar: Shivaji and His Times, Ch.IX, pp.208-209; Sardesai: N.H.M., Vol.I, P.207.

2. See first page in this Chapter.

Ramachandra famed in Ramayana; and as such you are eligible for thread-ceremony and other important ceremonies.' Pronouncing that he (Shivaji) belongs to Bharadwaja gotra, Gaga Bhatta took leave of him".[1] The decision was accepted by all and Shivaji was crowned on June 6, 1674 with due pomp.[2]

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1. Ke.N.V., IX, pp.138-139. Gaga Bhatta's name is printed as Naga Bhatta, apparently a seribal error.
2. Sardesai: N.H.M., Vol.I, pp. 210-216.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Preparation of the Ground for Shivaji's South Indian Expedition: Object of the Expedition.

The performance of formal coronation ceremony enabled Shivaji to claim "the full stature of political growth by the formal assertion of his position as an independent sovereign". Shivaji was not destined to enjoy peace for long. He had to grapple with external dangers. He had gained possession of Ankola, Phonda and Shiveshwar on April 17, 1675.[1] He also carried his arms into the Kanara coast lands.

Political situation in Bednur: The political atmosphere in Bednur and its neighbouring territories was congenial for Shivaji to launch forth his Karnataka expedition. While his activities were vigorous in the Kanara coast land, Channammaji, the ruler of Bednur solicited the aid of Shivaji to suppress the rebellion of Timmanna who was not reconciled to the new rule. Shivaji went to Bednur, put down the rebellion of Timmanna and restored peace and order. Highly elated at the success, the Rani agreed to pay chouth. For the collection of chouth, Shivaji stationed Umaji Pant at Bednur and returned home on June 12, 1675.[2] It was believed in 1677 that

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1. Shivaji Souvenir, P.21.

2. Grant Duff: A.H.M., Vol.I, P.188; Sardesai: N.H.M., Vol.I, pp.220-221.

Shivaji intended to take Bednur and add Kanara to his conquests.[1]

Political Situation in Bijapur: The confusing situation at Bijapur admirably suited Shivaji to set his plan in motion. Bijapur was involved in court-intrigues. Bahlol Khan, the leader of the Afghan party unscrupulously seized the power of the boy-king Sikandar (11th November 1675) and assassinated the deposed regent Khawas Khan (18th January 1676). The treacherous attitude of Bahlol Khan who turned the Bijapur Government into an Afghan government had awakened the Deccanis from their deep slumber; and as a consequence of which there broke out a civil war between the Afghan party and the Deccan party. Further he disregarded the Moghal Viceroy, Bahadur Khan, who by joining the Deccan party opened a campaign against Bahlol Khan which was to prolong for more than a year. On the eve of this campaign (May 1676) Shivaji, well-versed in diplomacy, sent his Chief Justice Niraji Raoji to Bahdur Khan with costly presents. Niraji Raoji secured Moghal neutrality by an accommodation with Bahdur Khan who "received a large bribe for himself in secret and a certain sum in public as tribute for his master and made a formal peace with the Marathas".[2]

Ekoji's conquest of Tanjore: Adverting to the affairs of the Maratha settlement in Mysore, it is known that Shahji passed away in January 1664 at Hodigere in Shimoga District, by an accidental

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1. Orme: Historical Fragments, pp. 220-221.
2. Sarkar: Shivaji and His Times, pp. 287-288.

fall from his horse; and his eldest and favourite son, Sambhaji had died before him, while besieging Kanakagiri. After the death of Shahji, Ekoji succeeded to the Mysore Jagir; and this was confirmed by the Sultan of Bijapur.[1] By his marvellous energy and resourcefulness, Ekoji soon incorporated the kingdom of Tanjore into possessions.

In the following year Ekoji took the side of his master faithfully and fought heroically against Jai Singh and Shivaji.[2] Then Ekoji took part in the war with Tanjore which occured in 1673, which was ostensibly caused by the refusal of Vijayaraghava Nayaka to give his daughter in marriage to Chokkanatha, but in reality was due to the long standing enmity between the two neighbours; the Madura army marched on Tanjore, defeated a detachment of the enemy's forces and captured Vallam. During the siege, the Zenana was set on fire; Vijayaraghava and his son perished fighting; and the Madura army took possession of Tanjore and strongly garrisoned it.[3]

Chokkanatha Nayaka of Madura appointed his foster-brother, Alagiri Nayaka to the governorship of Tanjore in 1674. Alagiri restored peace and order and remitted the surplus revenues to the treasury of Madura. As months rolled on, Alagiri grew indifferent to the remittance and assumed a tone of equality in his correspondence

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1. S.N.Sen: Siva Chhatrapati, P.231.
2. Sarkar: Shivaji and His Times, pp. 134 and 314.
3. Journal of the Annamalay University, Vol.X. 1941, pp.237-242.

with Chokkanatha.[1]

The treacherous Rayasam (Secretary) Venkanna, who continued in power under Alagiri, taking advantage of the friction between the two brothers, began to intrigue for his own advantage. He learnt that the old Nayak family was not totally extinct and that a boy of Vijavaraghava was saved from the catastrophe of 1673.[2] Venkanna championed the cause of the surviving son named Chengamaladasa. The arch-intriguer, Venkanna hatched a plan to install the child-prince,[3] dethroning Alagiri. Making elaborate preparation for the successful execution of his plan, he hastened to the court of Bijapur along with the child-prince and his nurse and sought the help of the Sultan for the restoration of the main Nayak line of Tanjore. The net result was that Ekoji, half-brother of Shivaji, was commissioned to expel Alagiri and crown Chengamala dasa[4]

A manuscript source which Wilks utilised confused an expedition which Shahji undertook for the purpose of levying contributions with the conquest of Tanjore.[5] Depending upon a

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1. The Jesuit letters made no reference to these incidents; but say that Alagiri was ruling over Tanjore under Chokkanatha. Taylor's Mss. and the Tanjavuri Andhra Rajula Charitam speak of his independence - see Nayaks of Tanjore, P.162. F.N.) See also the Nayaks of Madura, P.166; Tamilaham in the 17th Century, P.90.
2. Tamilaham in the 17th Century, P.91; Nayaks of Madura, P.167; Nayaks of Tanjore, P.162.
3. The Tanja Vuri Andhra Rajula Charitam says that Chengamala dasa was aged four years in 1673 and he was the son of Vijayaraghava. Taylor's Mss. ii, P.200 says that he was aged only two. R.Satyanatha Aiyer (Nayaks of Madura, P.167) makes him the grand son of Vijayaraghava as the latter aged eighty at the time of his death.

(for foot-note 4 and 5 please see next page)

manuscript in the Mackenzie collection,[1] Wilks says that Ekoji undertook the expedition against Tanjore, probably with a view to conquest on his own account, but under the ostensible authority of the Government of Bijapur.

Kannada tradition, as recorded by two writers namely Linganna Kavi and Krishna Raja Wodeyar III reveals that Tanjore was conquered by Shahji himself. According to Linganna, Shahji who tried in vain to bring about a permanent reconciliation between the Bijapur Sultan and Shivaji, found that the latter was bent upon anti-Bijapur activities; and unable to face the angry Sultan Shahji went to the south along with his son, Enkoji (Ekoji) and captured the fortress of Canji and Candavuru in the neighbourhood of Madura.[2] In the Annals said to have written during Krishnaraja Wodeyar III, the conquest of Tanjore by Shahji is described as follows: Finding that it was unsafe to live in Bangalore owing to the prowess of the Mysore prince, Kanthirava, Shivaji (apparently an error for Shahji) marched to Tanjore where Vijayaraghava Nayaka reigned. This ruler had become a devotee of a certain Telugu priest;

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4. Nelson (The Madura Mannual, P.194) says that Chengamala dasa fled to the court of Bijapur even in 1673 without citing any evidence.

5. "From a comparison of authorities I am disposed to suspect that the author confounds this event with some former invasion for the purpose of leving contributions, one of which we know to have occured in 1656. The terms of the submission of Tanjore on that occasion may have been considered as equivalent to the actual conquest, but the final occupation of that country was probably achieved by Ekojee after the death of his father. This event is placed by a manuscript history of Tanjore in the Tamil language, belonging to Mackenzie collection and by several concurring testimonies, in 1675." (Wilks, Vol.I, P.93).

An account of the Maratha Rajas of Tanjore (Section 8, No.835) No.24, C.M. 778) quoted in pp.441-2 of W.Taylog - A Catalogue (continued)

and by renouncing his royal duties he had assumed those of an ascetic. Shahji came to know this state of affairs in Tanjore. Placing a few horsemen in Bangalore, Shahji went to Tanjore, drove out Vijayaraghava Nayaka and laid the foundation of Maratha power in that city.[1] Therefore the conquest of Tanjore was effected in 1662 when Vijayaraghava was ruling.[2]

Nevertheless the weight of the evidence is in favour of the view that the conquest of Tanjore was effected by Ekoji himself, Ekoji met the forces of Madura and defeated them and insisted on them to pay the expenses of the expedition; "the account of which as usual doubled the actual amount and the Tanjorean was unable or unwilling to defray it". "Ekoji complained of an attempt to circumvent him and pretended that he was compelled to guard himself against the treachery of the Nayak and in the end, took possession of the government for the good of the state, to protect the good and punish the wicked".

According to the Tanjavuri Andhra Rajula Charita and Tanjavuri Vari Charita, Ekoji marched into the kingdom of Tanjore, captured the fort of Aiyampet, defeated Alagiri Nayak and drove him

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Raisonne of Priental Manuscripts in the Govt.Library. (Vol.III, P.441). This paper makes a retrospect to the times of Maloji and Shivaji and references to the connections between Tanjore and the Sultan of Bijapur and describes how Ekoji made his claims for arrears of tribute on the ground of his conquest.

2. Ke.N.V., P.151. According to Muhammadan historians the capture of Gingee is to the attributed to Mustafa Khan (Dec.17th, 1649).

1. Annals, I, P.109.

2. Somasundaram: The great temple at Tanjore, P.74.

out from the fort which he took. Ekoji marched into the fort triumphantly, crowned Chengamaladasa[1] as the ruler of Tanjore according to the instructions of the Sultan of Bijapur; and Chengalamadasa inaugurated his rule about 1674. Rayasam Venkanna soon quarelled with his own protege and went over to Ekoji's camp at Kumbakonam and induced him to take possession of Tanjore for himself.[2] Ekoji set out against Tanjore. Chengamaladasa was panic-striken on hearing the news of Ekoji's coming. Chengamaladasa and his followers escaped and took refuge at Ariyalur. Tanjore fell into the hands of Ekoji without any difficulty; Ekoji's occupation of Tanjore[3] marks the beginning of the Maratha rule in Tanjore. Taking the active cooperation of Venkanna, Ekoji restored peace and order and organised the affairs of the kingdom. The Maratha occupation of Tanjore took place in the early beginning of 1675 as is mentioned that Ekoji took possession of Tanjore in the month of Magha of Saka 1596 corresponding to February - March, A.D.1675.[4] This was supported by .Andre Freire's letter dated 1676 where in reference is made to the occupation of Tanjore by Ekoji. Doubtful of the allegiance of Venkanna who had already

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1. Jesuit letters say that after the conquest of Tanjore, Ekoji threatened Trichinopoly also. A careful study of Andre Frieres letter points out that conquest and usurpation are not identical and that usurpation was followed by conquest. - Nayaks of Madura, pp.279-280.
2. The Nayaks of Tanjore, P.164. F.N.7 R.Satyanath Aiyer (Nayaks of Madura, P.170) says that Ekoji at first refused to invade Tanjore as he feared his master but the news of the death of the Sultan encouraged him to conquer Tanjore. But the statement is not trustworthy as no Sultan died in that year (1674).
3. In the book "The Restoration of the king of Tanjore considered" the usurpation of Tanjore by Ekoji is given as follows: - "A party of Maratto plunderers, under the command of one Eckogee, invaded the carnatic and fixed themselves as Gingee. The Zamindars of Tanjore and Trichinopoly, who were both descended from the slaves of the Roils .... having quarelled among themselves had taken the field. The Zamindar of Tanjore being hard pressed by him of

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deserted two of his former masters, Alagiri and Chengamala Dasa, Ekoji decided to throw him into prison. But the sharp minded unscrupulous king-maker somehow got scent of the imminent danger and slipped away unnoticed and unperceived by others, rebuking strongly his stars. This is the version we get in the chronicles.[1] The Jesuit letter of 1676 makes mention of only Ekoji's usurpation but not the details of circumstances leading to it as that event is stated to have "just happened", it must have happened in the same year.

Having established himself safely, Ekoji had introduced drastic measures in reorganising the kingdom of Tanjore. The Jesuit letter of 1676 details:

> "Thus becoming absolute master of the kingdom, he seeks to make himself loved by the inhabitants and has already succeeded in it. The justice and wisdom of his government begin to heal the wounds of preceding reign and develop the natural resources of this country, one of the most remarkable in all India by the fertility of its lands and the richness of its production. By repairing the canals and tanks, he has fertilised extensive fields uncultivated for many years, and the last harvest has surpassed all

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Trichinopoly solicited the aid of Eckogee. This perfidious Maratto plunderer having repulsed the Zamindar of Trichinopoly, seized by treachery the Government of Tanjore in 1681". In this neither date nor the details of the event is given correctly.

4. Nayaks of Tanjore, P. 165, F.N. 9.

1. S.K.Iyangar: Sources, pp.326-327: Taylor C.R., iii, pp.178-179; O.H.Mss, ii, pp. 201-202.

that one had ever seen. Unhappily this prosperity will not be of long duration, for, on the one hand Idal Khan sends an army to punish the revolt of his general; on the other, the Nayak of Madura, so sluggish when it would have been easy for him to join his brother to crush Ekoji, is at last waking himself up from his apathy". Ekoji should be accorded an honourable place in the annals of Tanjore History for having laboured hard to bring about the material prosperity of the country and establishing an administrative system modelled on the basis of Bangalore and Kolar of his father. He studied "with assiduity the internal economy of his state with a success that enriched his subjects and ennobled his name".[1] Ekoji, being a clever diplomat was able to pulse the mentality of the conquered subjects and the enemies. In order to make his position safe and secure against his enemies, he seems to have sought an alliance with the French for their military aid.[2]

<u>Condition of South India in 1676</u>: Dark clouds of war begin to loom large on the horizon of South India. The establishment of a Maratha Kingdom at Tanjore in the neighbourhood of Madura was a source of alarm to the latter ruler, Chokkanatha. Taking advantage of the confused state of affairs in Madura and Tanjore, Chikkadeva Raja of Mysore started his campaign. To understand what brought in Shivaji's Karnataka expedition requires a slight retrospect of the history of Mysore under Chikkadeva Raja.

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1. Col. Mackenzie, 1815.
2. Tamilaham in the 17th Century, P.97.

Chikkadevaraja seized Maratha Colonies.

Introduction: The history of Chikkadevaraja is practically thehistory of central part of South India for thirty years. His own reign (1673 - 1704) covers the second quarter of the 17th Century and stands forth as a most important epoch in the annals of South India. Under him the Mysore kingdom reached its greatest extent and the largest single state centuries after the Hoysalas of Dwarasamudra; and before the rise of Hyder Tippu Sultan was formed.

The reign of Chikkadeva is also marked by the upspringing of the Maratha nationality out of the ashes of their short-lived kingship and by the appearance of Madura Nayak with a design for self-aggrandisement. The great Maratha general Shivaji and his step-brother Ekoji and his other generals bowed low before the Mysore Yadava blast. To the Mysore Raja, alone among the South Indian peoples, belongs the glory of giving the first successful-check to the onward march of the Maratha power and saving their father land from foreign encroachment.

Political Condition: It was a period of great activities for, the future rulers of our country's destiny gained a firm foot-hold on its soils. Madras and Bombay were the chief centres of the English East India Company in 1653 and 1687 respectively; Calcutta was founded in 1690. The places for commercial activities thus secured by the Europeans formed a dominion within a dominion, and were fortified with an object to defy the onslaughts of the "country-powers". The foreign "merchant-adventurers" began to conduct

experiments in Oriental Government and local rule which resulted in course of time in the establishment of an empire larger than that of Romans and a civilized and progressive administration to which the world, ancient or modern, affords no parallel. The Mughal Emperor, Aurangzeb in the north inaugurated his glorious rule but an inglorious fall. The grand edifice which Akbar had built up, Shahjahan and Jahangir nurtured and extended, still looked gorgeous as before but it was ready to tumble down to the ground like a house of cards at the first torch of foreign aggression. Chikkadevaraja despatched Karnika Lingaya to the court of Moghal with costly gifts and munificent presents in order to enlist the sympathy of falling emperor. But Ekoji contrary to the wishes of his master, seized the title and authority of the Nayakship of Tanjore and proclaimed himself an independent ruler, not ignoring his father land, Bangalore. Shivaji launched his Karnataka expedition during this period ostensibly to realise his long-cherished goal. Vijayanagara empire was on the brink of dissolution surviving all troubles and tribulations for well nigh a century after the epoch-making battle of Talikota. Its sway over the full blossoming kingdom of Mysore was a thing of the past and nothing more. In Ikkeri, Channammaji succeeded Hiriya Somasekhara-nayaka. Chikkadevaraja had to deal with the neighbouring powers in order to maintain the honour and prestige of Mysore and he was successful in this endeavour.[1]

1. Mys. Gaz., II, iii. 2407-2408; Ke.N.V., VIII, 126-130, IX 131-132; J.Sarkar, Aurangzeb, IV. 136-138; Nayaks of Madura, P.162.

"Blessed with health, wealth and happiness, ardent in devotion to god, adorned with all the worthy virtues and graces, Lord of the throne of Srirangapatna, the generous among the generous in the illustrious Yadava line of kings, the beloved of the world - May Chikka-devaraja live and prosper as king of kings, delighting the hearts of mankind like the moon".

This is how Tirumala Ayyangar[1] pays his homage to Chikkadevaraja who had been his bread-giver and on whose salt he thrived.

Chikkadevaraja was the son of Dodda Devaraja and Amritamba[2] and was born on September 22, 1645.[3] Alahisingararya predicted that "the royal child would be king of kings, the emperor of the Southern kingdoms, the commander of an immense army, pure in mind and deed".

The prince was brought up with all indulgence and care that a royal son receives at the hands of his parents and preceptors.

Education: Arrangements were made for his regular education. As he had natural keenness of mind, he quickly learnt what he read. He had thoroughly mastered the Dharmasastras and Philosophies and wonderstruck his preceptors by a display of erudition.

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1. A.P.C. P.8, V.25.
2. There is some difference of opinion about his parentage. Wilks says that he was the son of elder brother of Dodda Devaraja but following sources agree that he was the son of Dodda Devaraja and Ambritamba. Annals, P.104; C.Vam. by Tirumala Ayyangar, P.170. C.Vam by Venugopala Varaprasada; Paschimaranga mahatmya, Introduction by Thimmakavi; Divyasuri Charitre, Introduction; C.Vijayam, IV, 170-180; Sr. Inn. 14.
3. Mys.Dh.Pur., II. 55: Parthiva Asvija su. 12, Monday; Annals I, P.104; C.Vam., 166: C.Vij, IV, 51 and Raj.Kath., XII, 473-474.

His retentive memory was unequalled. He was an expert in the theological studies and political principles. He exhibited rare keenness in acquiring proficiency in the principles of rhetoric, drama, poetry and linguistics. He was trained in music, gymnastics, archery and swordsmanship and various arts. He learnt the use of offensive and defensive weapons. Horse-riding and elephant-riding and other manly exercises were his special hobbies.[1] Fortified with all the education of a prince, Chikkadevaraja jumped into a wider field of political activities. He was the author of several kannada and sanskrit works known for their high standard of literary merit. The writing of Sachchudrachara nirnaya by the king himself which defines and determines the rights of the fourth caste is a testimony to the fact that the king was eager to inaugurate in his kingdom an organised system of administration which could secure a consolidation not merely in the political but also in the social spheres. Chikkadevaraja Binnapa, Gita Gopala, Chikkadevaraja sukti vilasa, Se stadharma and Bharatha were some of his literary productions, which introduce us into the literary taste and accomplishments of the king. The summoning of a great literary conference where in experts in political science, learned men, eminent poets participated in order to enlighten the king on the history of Divyasuries as desired by him is a remarkable evidence to the literary urge that the Raja had.[2]

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1. Ārāyaguvaram dharmaśāstradolam rāja nītiyolam bilkatti modalāda palavum keydugeymeyolam Ane kuduregaleratadolam sangīta shāstradolam nāṭakālankarangalolam, palavum dēsha bhāshegalolam palavum kalāvidyegalolam pravīṇa nenisidam. C.Vam, P.166.
2. Divyasuri Charite, Stanza 83.

Imprisonment of Chikkadevaraja and mischief of pandit: Chikkadevaraja in his early youth did not seem to have been on good understanding with his father, the result of which was that the former was confined at Hangala and Devaraja Wodeyar, the brother of Doddadevaraja Wodeyar was enthroned.[1] Wilks states that Chikkadevaraja had spent his early years at Yelandur where he formed intimate contact with Vishalaks' pandita, a Jaina by persuasion. When Chikkadevaraja was in confinement the pandit continued his attachment and followed him to confinement. The pandit who was well versed in astronomy and "aspect of stars" had discovered that Chikkadevaraja would certainly succeed to the throne. When his prediction became a reality, the pandit became the Chief Minister[3] of Chikkadevaraja according to the latter's promise made before. During the first fourteen years, the pandit held the Raja in his grip and influenced him to such an extent as to the imposition of many vexatious taxes which were highly resented by the people who blamed that the pandit was the mischief maker and was responsible to warp the normal mind of the Raja. A gruesome story is related by Wilks of how the Raja was made to grant an interview to a number of Lingayat leaders under the pretext of listening to their grievances and then how the treacherous pandit arranged to execute each interviewer as he was led out of the royal presence after the interview into an adjoining tent for the purpose of being entertained

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1. M.A.R. 1938, P.78.
2. History of Mysore Vol.I, P.54, 55, 56.
3. Raja Kathavali, XII. 476.

A whole-sale massacre of Lingayats were ordered in the whole country and Lingayat matts and sacred places were raged to the dust. This savagery and butchery were rightly attributed to the Jaina pandit who was murdered. While he was on the brink of eternity, the Raja visited him on hearing the murderous attack of the Pandit and was suitably requested to appoint Tirumala Ayyangar, a vaishnavaite, and Raja's play-mate and court-vidwan as the Chief Minister. Accordingly Tirumala Ayyangar (Vaishnava) was appointed as the Chief Minister.

Yuvaraja: Chikkadevaraja took active part in military campaign as a crown-prince and exhibited marvellous energy and resourcefulness in encountering a formidable confederacy at Erode. Apart from the external extra military activities, he had special keenness of understanding and digesting various subjects relating to Dharma Sastras, politics and moral principles which were hotly discussed and debated in the court of Devaraja at Srirangapatna.[1] But the refined characters seemed to have receded to the background for some time after 1667 giving place to vain-pride and arrogance. This led to the imprisonment of Chikkadevaraja in a remotest place Hangala along with his family in 1668. Proper arrangements were made for the continuence of his studies and training befitting dignity of the future ruler of Mysore.

Dalavoy Kumarayya brought Chikkadevaraya from Hangala by way of Kalale and Garalapuri to Mysore and then crowned him at

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1. C.Vi., V, 157-160;

Srirangapatna on phalguna Bahula 12, paridhavi S' 1595 corresponding to 15th May 1673.[1] At the age of 28 he ascended the throne with due pomp and pageantry.

The first administrative reform effected was the appointment of an Executive Council consisting of five ministers viz. (1) Vishalaksha Pandita as Chief Minister, (2) Tirumala Ayangar (3) Chikka Upadhyaya, (4) Shadaksharaiya and (5) Lingannaiya to assist him to discharge his duties.[2] This council consisted of the most noted pandits and writers of Chikkadevaraja's court whose reputation for scholarship and literary merit have outlived their day and who are even now acknowledged as the standard authors in the kannada language.

Chikkadevaraja, equipped with all the qualities of a great general launched forth his policy of conquest in different parts of south India. By dint of his superior prowess, ability and deep diplomacy, he was able to be victor of many battles extending the geographical frontiers of his kingdom up to Salem and Coimbatore districts as far as far as Mannargudi to the south east, to Coorg on the west and Bednore towards the north west.

<u>Chikkadevaraja seized Maratha Colonies</u>: Revelling in peaceful atmosphere and in a secure position, Ekoji had never felt the

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1. Q.J.M.S., Special number 1956, P.198; Mys. Dho.Pur., II. 31; also I. 58 and II 56 fixes Feb. 28, 1673 and this is accepted by the author of Mysore Gazetteer Annals, I, P.104 paridhavi palguna ba 12 corresponding to March 5, 1673; Raj.Kath., XII, P.477 paridhavi karthika su 5 corresponding to Oct.16, 1672; Wilks places the accession in 1672 & is followed by Rice (I.366) and S.K.Ayangar (Ancient India P.298). The former is preferred here.
2. Annals I. 105.

necessity of renewing and reviving the contact with the Adil Shah of Bijapur who had been a bread giver to his father and many Maratha family and on whose august state they thrived. This attitude on the part of Ekoji had displeased the Sultan who immediately took precautionary measures to rescue the Bijapur-Karnatak Balaghat from falling into the hands of a much adventurous fellow-chieftain by appointing two Muslim generals, Jahangir Khan and Hussain Khan, who claimed descent from Ranadulla Khan, a reputed general of Bijapur. The care and caution that the Sultan took in protecting the Karnataka possessions struck a note of warning to Chikkadevaraja of Mysore, who, awakening to conscience of imminent danger from the Bijapur Sultan, mobilised his forces with a view to seize as much Karnatak possessions of Bijapur as possible. About the middle of 1675, Chikkadevaraja proceeded in that direction and was brilliantly successful in conquering Ketasamudra, Kandikere, Handalagere, Gulur, Tumkur and Honnavalli (all in Tumkur District), Saratavalli and Turuvekere (Turugere) belonging to the Bijapur Sultan.[1] // Next he delivered his attack on Jadakanadurga, the chief of which Narasappa Wodeyar, known for his fist (Musti) had encountered the advancing forces with the active military aid of the Morasas and Kiratas but in vain. He was put down; his capital Jadakanadurga was plundered and its name was changed into Chikkadevarayadurga (now Devarayadurga in Tumkur).[2] This aggressive

1. E.C., III (1) Sr. 151 dated 1679; Kam.Mahat, P.22; Kama Niti., I, 84-86; Hasti Mah., I, 80; Bhag. Git. Ti., I, 59, Sri. Mah, II, 39; Sachch. N., I, 56; C.B., P.59; Git. Go., pp.39, 70; Mys. Dho. Pur., II. 32; Annals, I. P.105.
2. E.C., III (1) Sr. 151.

attitude of Chikkadevaraja did not receive any check as Ekoji, after firmly establishing himself at Tanjore as an independent king, had launched forth his territorial conquest in his neighbourhood thus it turned out to be a golden opportunity to the former.

On the other hand Ekoji egged on by ambition did not keep mum as a disinterested spectator for, it is a great error in politics to remain idle and unconcerned spectator. Therefore he concentrated his attention on the siege of Trichinopoly where the voice of Madura seemed to be predominent. Trichinopoly formed the ground on which both of them stood face to face. Now Mysore was entangled in the hopeless embarrassment of checkmating the visible forces, one from the north and other from the south, which were acting and reacting upon each other in order to cause destruction of the kingdom of Mysore. The Bijapur Sultan never forgot the humiliation done to him by Ekoji and therefore he was about to despatch an army to punish latter. Moreover, the Bijapur intervention in the affairs of Mysore kingdom was, for some reason or other, frequent. Secondly, the settlement of Ekoji at Tanjore as an independent king and his military activities for territorial conquests, that too at close proximity on the border land of Mysore was a serious alarm to Chikkadevaraja who, began to strengthen defences against these possible dangers. About 1676 the political horizon was very dark; preparations for war were being ~~under~~ made by Madura, Mysore and Bijapur.

The Jesuit letter of 1676[1] says:- "Mysore which can not see,

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1. Andre Freire in the Nayaks of Madura, P.281.

without uneasiness, a bold set of people establishing themselves on her own frontiers, fortifies the citadels taken from the northern provinces of Madura, gathers fresh troops and makes grand preparation for war. On the pretext of strengthening herself against the Muhammadans, she may have in view an attack on the kingdom of Madura, when the Nayak will be involved in his war with Tanjore".

In the meanwhile, Chikkadevaraja focussed his eyes on the northern conquest of Bijapur-Karnatak-Balaghat. He, with a well disciplined army laid siege to the fort of Doddadevanagiri, took possession of it by cutting off the nose of Chikkappa gauda, by putting to route the entire army and crushing those who supported the cause of Chikkappa gauda. After taking possession of the fort, Chikkadevaraja received from the palace, jewels, money, elephants, horses. The ruler became a prisoner in the hands of Chikkadeva[1] in Feb. 1676. In April 1676 was effected the final annexation of Honnavalli from the hands of Jahangir Khan, Bijapur officer. Bommasamudra was conquered from Hussain Khan in Jan.1677 and in the subsequent month of same year Toda nadu was taken from Bhujangaiya, son of the Wodeyar of Ummattur.[2] He seems to have carried fire and sword as far as Malabar (Malayachala and Kerala).[3]

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1. Mys. Dho. Pur., P.21.
2. Annals, I, P.105; Mys.Raj. Cha., 28; Bhag.Gi.Ti., I, P.54; Kam. Mah., I, 133; Hasti.Mah., I, 78; Sri. Mahat., II, 37; Wilks, I, P.131; E.C. Bangalore Dist. suppl. Vol., Bn.144 (1680) ll. 33-34.
3. Bhag. Gi. Ti., I, 55; Sri. Mah., I. Chap.

Thus there had already come into operation a reaction against the Muslim autocratic authority, inaugurated by Shahji's acts and nartured by Ekoji's doings, was in fact a golden opportunity for Shivaji to project his Karnataka expedition.

Kolar and Doddaballapura asserted their independence: The death of Sambhaji in 1663 and his brother-in-law, Shahji in 1664 and the departure of Ekoji from Bangalore to Tanjore induced most of the Maratha possessions in Mysore to relinquish their allegiance to the Maratha overlords and assert their independence.

Relying on Sabhasad, R.N.Salatore says that the forts of Kolar and Doddaballapura revolted against the declining fortunes of the Maratha Kingdom in Karnataka; Kolar declared its independence in 1670 A.D. and Doddaballapura somewhere between 1670-1677.[1] Assertion of independence by these two districts is one of the reasons, if not the sole reason that induced Shivaji to set in motion his plan of Karnataka expedition.

OBJECT OF SHIVAJI'S KARNATAKA EXPEDITION.

The first and foremost question to be considered now was: what was the object of Shivaji in launching this daring distant Karnataka expedition? Alas! We are at a loss for, conflicting authorities give conflicting versions.

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1. Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, Vol.13, 1939, pp. 62-63.

His Karnatic Objective: Partition.

The Chitnis Bakhar, one of the Maratha sources says that the main object of Shivaji was to lay his claim to the half-share of his father's Jaghirs in Karnataka:

"Thirteen years have passed since the death of the late Maharaja. Raghunath Pant then placed you at the head of the government and completely rendered to you all the belongings of the late Maharaja - his Jewels, horses, elephants and land. But they are my patrimony as well. You have till today enjoyed my half-share of them; I wanted to demand it of you but I had been far away. As you would not relinquish it voluntarily, I waited for these twelve or thirteen years. In my mind I argued that you were also a son of the Maharaja and a rightful owner of the property. So I let you enjoy it as long as you would and I thought I would demand and get my share whenever I need it & was at leisure."[1]

On the other hand, the Sivadigvijaya says:

> "During our father's life-time Shivaji Maharaj rebelled against the Badshah and forcibly took possession of the Imperial territories. Our father on that account suffered in various ways. I remained with my father and behaved obediently and so the Badshah preserved our property. It is not an ancient hereditary gift

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1. Sen, Siva Chhatrapati, pp. 227-228. Letter of Shivaji to Ecoji of Tanjore.

that he demands a share. Share can be claimed of ancient Watans alone. But this property is held on service tenure. I call myself a Badshahi officer and enjoy this property in accordance with the Badshah's order. what claim has he (Shivaji) to this property?"[1]

The argument of Ekoji seems to be logical and reasonable. It is true that he spent most of his time with his father enjoying the peaceful bliss offered by the Sultan of Bijapur. The points of subordination was clear as not only Ekoji but also most of the Maratha generals and administrators were working under the eyes and orders of the Sultan.[2] As such he was not an independent chieftain inheriting all the paternal property for half of which Shivaji should have a claim. Moreover, if Shivaji's claim is argued about, why not Ekoji should have claim to the belongings of Shivaji? In fact Ekoji has double claim: he could not only claim a moiety of the Poona Jaghirs which were being enjoyed by Shivaji but also a part of the conquests of Shivaji himself. Therefore the claim of Shivaji as is alleged by Chitnis Bakhar sounds unwarranted. Further it is illogical, unreasonable and unjustifiable to press the demands of Shivaji on Ekoji. One curious point we notice in Sabhasad is that it does not seem to have any touch on the idea of partition but simply says that Shivaji claimed his

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1. Ibid, P.231.

2. Sarkar, House of Shivaji.

father's twelve birandes or badges of honour which were in the hands of Ekoji.[1] Therefore this can be dismissed as throwing no light on the real object which actuated Shivaji to launch forth Karnataka expedition.

Plunder.

J.N.Sarkar says:

> "It is incredible that a born strategist like Shivaji could have really intended to annex permanently a territory on the Madras coast which was separated from his dominions by two powerful and potentially hostile states like Bijapur and Golkonda and more than 700 miles distant from his capital. His aim, I believe, was merely to squeeze the country of its accumulated wealth and return home with booty. The partition of his father's heritage was only a plea adopted to give a show of legality to this campaign of plunder".[2]

Three points are raised: Shivaji's intention of not having any territory on the Madras coast permanently; Bijapur and Golkonda which were hostile; the question of distance. The point is: why a born-strategist like Shivaji does not like to annex permanently a territory on the Madras coast? secondly Golkonda, at the time

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1. Sen, Siva Chhatrapati, pp. 125-126.
2. J.N.Sarkar: Shivaji and his Times I and II edition.

of his expedition was not hostile, let alone Bijapur. In fact, Golkonda promised to aid him in men and materials in his endeavour. Thirdly distance is no matter for such a ambitious and enterprising general like Shivaji. Furthermore the various conquests Shivaji made in eastern and central Mysore and a portion of Bijapur in course of his return-journey was a complete testimony to the fact that he was not unconscious of the necessity of maintaing active communication between Maharashtra and Eastern Karnatak. Sen says that there would be not difficulty in maintaining an empire situated some hundred miles away from the capital provided the communications were safe and good".[1]

Prof.Sarkar was silent on this point in his later editions. Yet he says in the 5th edition that "gold and not land was his chief object".[2] Shivaji's diplomatic arrangements with Golkonda and his grand army of veterans, military and civil,[3] show that he contemplated no mulkgiri.

A Second Line of Defence:

Ranade in his well-argued work[4] says:

> "as if he had prescience of coming events, Shivaji, by his conquests and alliances, formed a new line of

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1. Studies in Indian History, as referred to by C.S.Srinivasachari in "Gingee & its rulers", P.231.
2. Prof. Sarkar: Shivaji and his Times, P. 303.
3. Ibid "" "" P. 283-91.
4. Rise of the Maratha Power (1900), P.174.

defence in Southern India in the Kaveri valley to which he could retire in case of necessity". Dr. Sen[1] is half-inclined to endorse the view of Ranade: "He wisely annexed this far off colony as he had probably forseen that it might one day serve as a secure place of refuge for his successors. A shrewd and wise statesman like Shivaji would not otherwise run the great risks involved in the invasion of the Karnatak, while a strong Mughal army was posted in the Deccan".

No element of truth could be found in the statement of Ranade viewed from the point of view of the repercussions of the expedition and the political atmosphere prevailed in South India at the time of the expedition of Shivaji. No tangible result was achieved by Shivaji from this expedition except causing disturbances to the peaceful life of the subjects, to form a place for refuge. One important factor necessary for the formation of a new line of defence in South India was lacking; his step-brother was not won to his side; some of the South Indian chieftains never agreed to come into a union; Mysore wanted to teach him a lesson at the point of the sword. Such was the political situation. How could Shivaji think of an alternative line of defence to retire in case of necessity? Moreover, if he were to think of the formation of the second line of defence, his first line of defence should have

1. Studies in Indian History, P. 145.

been alright. But though Shivaji had the satisfaction of having achieved the consolidation of Maharashtra, practically most of the places were subject to the terrible plunder and onslaught of the Mughals. Therefore we can dismis the statement of Ranade as it is not the reason for Karnataka expedition of Shivaji.[1]

In Sen's statement, although we find some element of truth for, his successor, Rajaram took shelter in the impregnable fort of Gingee during his wandering period making it the second line of defence, it did not survive long. Rajaram had to fly back to Maharashtra along with his followers leaving everything to besiegers.

3 (a) Revival of Vijayanagar.

Shivaji was credited with having been born to revive Vijayanagar's imperial tradition in all its grandeur. The two evidences on which this theory was based are: Shivaji's silver plate[2] record to the widow and two sons of Sri Ranga Raya III, donating "probably a hundred villages",[3] and issuing of a unique gold coin, hon, discovered at Phaltan, in imitation of the pagoda of Vijayanagar. Any body who would get the opportunity of listening to the inglorious end of an empire which was once powerful and mighty, would take pity on the members of such a family, if an

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1. For further criticisms of Ranade see Vij.Sex.Com.Vol.P. 135.
2. Vij. Sex. Com. Vol. P.137.
3. Ibid, P. 137. Compare S.K.Aiyangar - Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture, P. 313.

appeal was made to him in their distressing position for the security of life. It is only uncivilized brute that can reject such claims. Fortunately, Shivaji was not unsympathetic, unkindly and iron-hearted man so as to reject the requests of the widow of Sriranga Raya for her maintenance. The Silver plate grant of Shivaji therefore, could not be taken to imply that he meant the revival of Vijayangara empire. In fact nothing is more dangerous and suicidal in the Historical Methodology than drawing hasty generalisation from a particular. Further it is not true to say that because Shivaji issued a gold coin in imitation of Vijayanagar coins he became an acknowledged successor of Vijayanagara Emperors. What else he could imitate? Mughal Rupee? No, he can not. These epigraphical and numismatic evidences are only the indications of broad mindedness and humanity of Shivaji towards the family of unfortunate Vijayanagara empire and nothing more.

(b) Sathyanathaier's View.

This author also endorsed the view: Shivaji cherished the ambition to stand before his great enemy, the Mughal, as the acknowledged representative of the empire of Vijayanagar.[1] Again he says: "At any rate Shivaji must have felt the empire extinct when he undertook his southern invasion which had in it an idea of reviving the Hindu empire of the South".[2]

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1. Nayaks of Madura, pp. 176-177; F.N. 71.

2. Ibid, P. 134; F.N. 60.

(c) S.K.Aiyangar's View.

He says: "We do not hear any more about Sri Ranga. His death may have had something to do with the coronation of Shivaji; but the latter's march into the South and his attempt at an assertion of his authority over the carnatic for which he tried so hard in 1677, must have had at the back of it the idea that he took the place of the late emperor of Vijayanagar. The issue of a coinage on the model of Vijayanagar by Shivaji is a clear indication of this".[1]

The former has corrected his notion about Shivaji's revival of Vijayanagar empire in his recent work[2] and says "All these speculations were caused mostly by the then uncertainty of the date of Sri Ranga's death, but we now know definitely that he died in 1672. If Shivaji had really wanted to step into the place of Sri Ranga, he would have postponed his coronation, which actually took place in 1674, or recrowned himself in 1678 after his Coromandel expedition. The Sabhasad Bakhar, mentions Gaga Bhatta's conviction that Shivaji deserved to be a Chhatrapati like the Muslim Badshah and gives no support to the theory of the revival of Vijayangar by Shivaji. It is clear that there was political vaccum in the eastern Karnatak which Shivaji abhored and that he wanted to carve a principality out of the chaotic political units".[3]

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1. Ibid, Introduction, P.27.
2. Tamilaham in the 17th Century, P. 100.
3. Ibid, " " pp. 100-101.

Again Shivaji seemed to have thought that Bijapur and Golkonda were the eternal enemies of Vijayanagara empire against whom they carried fire and sword and fought till its total destruction. Therefore Shivaji wanted to punish them.[1] This does not mean that Shivaji championed the cause of the decadent Vijayanagara empire. R.Satyanath Aiyer says:

> "We can not regard it as evidence of his ambition to revive the empire of Vijayanagara but only as an excuse for Shivaji's conquest of Eastern Karnatak, based on a wrong assumption".[2]

Sardesai's View.

According to this eminent author, Shivaji's main idea in launching this expedition was to prevent Ekoji of Tanjore from paying feudal obligations to Bijapur and bring him under his own control. Further his ideal was still higher; a Pan-Maratha ideal and laboured hard for the establishment of the Hindu-pad-padshahi. He considers his daring Karnataka expedition as a link "in unifying chain of imperial aims". Sardesai quotes nine arguments in support of this point.[3] But his nine arguments in support of Shivaji's Hindu-pad-padshahi were refuted by R.Satyanath Aiyer on the ground that the attitude of Shivaji was to establish only Pan-Maratha state.

It is not correct to say that Shivaji pursued the ideal of

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1. Tamilaham in the 17th Century, P.102.
2. Ibid.
3. Main Currents of Maratha History, (1933), 69-75.

Pan-Maratha. On the other hand he laboured hard for the good of the Hindus; and for the establishment of the Hindu empire in order to present a bulwark against the destructive forces of the Muslim kingdoms. Assumptions of high-sounding titles by Shivaji were clear indications of the fact that Shivaji was a Hindu; and in fact it was the characteristic of a Hindu ruler in ancient India to assume titles. The reference to the motto on the seal of Shivaji is not an indication of his little power as has been assumed by R.Satyanath Aiyer; but it is only an indication of slow but steady growth of his power. (3) Shivaji's world is not merely Maharashtra; but it is India as a whole. According to the Rairi Bakhar, Shivaji told the Sultan of Golkonda that if Golkonda and Bijapur would but cooperate with him, he could easily conquer the whole of India. (4) The Introduction of Marathi as the court language can not be taken to mean Shivaji's Pan-Maratha ideal. What else could he introduce? make Kannada? (5) In the revival of the council of eight ministers, Shivaji followed Chanakya, not the Bahamanis. (6) The vehement opposition offered by Shivaji in his letter[1] to Aurangzeb against the reimposition of Jezia could be taken as an evidence to his Pan-Hindu ideal.

(7) Shivaji wrote a letter to Maloji for a united action. (8) Shivaji's uppermost idea in visiting Delhi was to understand the secrecy of the political situation of the Moghal court so that it could be exploited for his advantage in his life-and-death

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1. Sarkar: Shivaji and His Times, pp. 320-323.

struggle against the Moghals. By projecting the Karnatak expedition, Shivaji had brought about the unity of South India to great extent.

(9) That Shivaji married ladies belonging to Maharastra can not be taken as an evidence to prove his Pan-Maratha ideal for we do not know the circumstances that induced him to marry only those ladies of Maharashtra.

Nanalal Dalpatram Kavi says, "Shivaji stands for the greatest Hindu since Prithviraj. He was the crown and essence of Hinduism , the Great Star of Hinduism. Shivaji dreamed of re-establishing a Hindu empire. "I will conquer Delhi from its ancient throne. I will resuscitate Hinduism".[1] From this it is clear that Shivaji tried hard to establish Hindu-pad-padshahi.

ANNEXATION.

Besides the Maratha chronicles, we have got the Fort St. George records (which consist of consultations and Diaries of the councils and copies of the letters sent and received from various places) and the Jesuit letters which will give ample references to the Karnataka expedition of Shivaji.

Sabhasad says that "the raja entertained in his heart the desire of conquering Karnataka from the Tungabhadra Valley to the Cauvery".[2] Nicolo Manucci, the famous Venetian traveller says:

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1. Shivaji Souvenir, P.120.
2. Sen: Shiva Chhatrapati, 199.

"Shivaji .... asked the king of Golconda to grant him a passage to his campaign in the Carnatic and obtained by his valour and determination the great fortress called Gingee. He, like a dexterous falcon, pounced on many other fortresses belonging to Bijapur".[1] Another unpublished manuscript found in the Archives Marines of Paris says that Shivaji entered Karnataka at the head of a large force and inflicted crushing defeat on those princes who opposed him.[2]

The onward rush of Shivaji was a great alarm to the English merchants at Fort St.George; and this was found expression in their Diary and consultation Book of 1672-1678.

The letter of 9th May, 1677,[3] the letter of 19th June 1677,[4] the letter of 24th August 1677,[5] another letter written by Shivaji himself to Langhorne,[6] Governor of Fort St.George, the letter of 29th October 1677,[7] letter of 31st October 1677,[8] and letter of 16th January 1678[9] contain references to the conquest of Karnataka by Shivaji.

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1. Cited by C.S.Srinivasachari: A.History of Gingee and its rulers, pp.217-218.
2. Ibid.
3. English Records on Shivaji, Vol.II, P.117, No.(222).
4. Ibid, II, No.232, P.125.
5. Ibid, II, No.247, pp. 134-135.
6. English Records on Shivaji, Vol.II, P. 60, 251, pp. 137-138.
7. Ibid, II, No.262, P.145.
8. Ibid, II, No.263, P.145.
9. Ibid, II, No.272, pp. 149-151.

Apart from these English letters sent and received from place to place, there is also Marathi and Jesuit letters which corroborate the above theory. The Maratha chronicle, Sabhasad Bakhar gives a long list of forts under Shivaji's control.[1] Another Maratha record, the Jedhe Sakavali, a bare summary of events with dates covering the years 1618-1697, refers to Shivaji's conquest: "Shivaji captured Jinji and occupied a whole of Karnataka in Chaitra, pingala 1599 (April 1677).[2]

The above mentioned sources clearly say that the main object of Shivaji in this endeavour was the conquest and annexation in order to make his position safe militarily and politically.

The Jesuit letter of Andre Freire dated July 1678 corroborates the above mentioned statement.

Freire, writing in 1678 says:

> "Shivaji made himself master of it (Vellore) and thereby became sovereign of a large part of the kingdom (of Vijayanagara) as he had already been (master of Jinji). He could not hope to maintain peaceful possession of it for long; he had to defend himself against the Moghal power, which has been irresistible till now. With this provision he applied all the energy of his mind and all the resources of his dominions to the

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1. Sen: Shiva Chhatrapati, P.127.
2. Shivaji Souvenir, P.22.

fortification of the principal towns. He constructed new ramparts around Jinji, dug ditches, erected towers, created basins and executed all these works with a perfection which European art would not have denied. He did as much for the other citadels, whose position promised real advantages, destroyed all those which he considered useless, constructed a large number of new ones in the plaints and on the hills and put all these fortresses in a state of preparedness for a siege of several years. Such works necessarily exhausted his treasures".[1]

Apart from Maratha chronicles, Jesuit letters and number of English factory letters,[2] we have got Memoirs of Francois Martin, the best foreign account for the expedition of Shivaji. Martin[3] who founded the settlement of Pondichery in 1674, had kept watch on the shifting Karnataka affairs due to the intervention of the Marathas and given an account of which in the words of C.S.Srinivasachari[4] "a document of great accuracy and importance and have furnished us with the best contemporary account of Shivaji's expedition into the Carnatic".

Martin Memoirs speak of the organization of Pondichery,

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1. Tamilaham in the 17th Century, pp. 106-107.
2. Letter of Aug. 1678 - English Record on Shivaji, Vol.II, Letter of April 1678 - Abid.
3. "It is needless to say that Martin furnishes us with the best contemporary account of Shivaji's Karnatak expedition. His Memoirs constitute a document of first rate importance and were copied by the late Monsieur P.Margry with a view to publication" (Introduction to S.N.Sen's Foreign Biographies of Shivaji, PP. XXVI - XXX).
4. A History of Gingee and its rulers, P.218.

of the Havildars and Subhedars being sent to Pondichery by Shivaji with a view to improvement of administration. Martin has also given his appreciation about Brahmins officers of Pondichery district for their labour in utilising waste and uncultivated lands and rendering them profitable. The appointment of Havildars and Subhedars for the government of the conquered country and reclamation and cultivation of the unprofitable lands by these officers meant that the Marathas wished to conquer as many states as possible and administer them.

> "Sivagy assured our envoy that we might stay in complete security at Pondichery without taking side of either party ..... that he would send an avaldar in a few days to govern Pondichery, and that we might have to live with him in the same manner as we had done with the officers of Chircam (Sher Khan Lodi).[1]... Sivagy sent some Brahmens to all the villages in the country for governing them; the number of these scamps who had followed Sivagy for trying to get some employment is something amazing; they counted more than 20,000[2] .... The Brahmens were more careful in making the lands profitable".[3]

Further Martin makes reference to the deception practised by Shivaji in breaking his promise to deliver up half of the spoils

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1. Sen: Foreign biographies of Shivaji, P.278.
2. Ibid, P.297.
3. Ibid, P.341.

and conquests of the war to the Qutb Shah as had recently agreed upon. Concluding, with definiteness we can be sure, after having examined various sources at our disposal that the ulterior object of Shivaji in projecting the daring distant Karnataka expedition was annexation and nothing more than that.

Befittingly says R.Satyanathaier:[1]

> "The attempt to discover Shivaji's ulterior motives is a wild-goose chase; partition was a stalking-horse; plunder was a side issue; his palpable objective was the conquest and administration of the Eastern Karnatak in order to strengthen his own military & political position".

ORIGINATOR OF THE PLAN.

The 91 - Qami Bakhar speaks of Raghunatha Narayan Hanumante as the trusted minister of Shahji who, on his death went over to Ekoji who established his authority at Tanjore independently and was the administrator of Ekoji's heritage. The latter's frequent intervention in the daily business of the state had roused the feeling of R.N.Hanumante who, resigned the service and contacted Madanna Pandit, the Golkonda minister of Qutb Shah and held a long discussion with him on the point of launching a Karnataka expedition so as to destroy the kingdom of Ekoji. Then he went to Shivaji, took up his service, and influenced him to lay claim to half of the Karnatak Jaghirs of Shahji which was under the

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1. Tamilaham in the 17th Century, P.107.

control of Ekoji partly also with an object of avenging his humiliation. It was this persuation that made Shivaji invade Karnataka. This account making Raghunath the originator of this plan finds a complete refutation in Sabhasad.[1] It is needless to say that Raghunath had extended his cooperation in Shivaji's grand endeavour; and as a consequence of its success, he was honoured with the headship of Gingee as Viceroy after its fall. It is unfair to question the sagacity tact by which he had brought about his plan and set in motion to its successful ending. It is said that Raghunath placed before Shivaji his grand proposals of Karnataka expedition early in 1676 when Shivaji was bed-ridden at Satara. But this theory melts before a French letter from Surat dated 20-12-1675 which says Shivaji's minister Annaji Pant told Mr.Baron near Rajapur that an expedition to the Karnatak had been contemplated by his master."Baron stopped for some time at Rajapur, where he had frinedly interviews with his principal minister, understood therefore his ambition on the Karnatak and arrived at Surat on 26th August, 1675 after a voyage of three months".[2] This letter tends to inform us that this ambitious project of Karnatak Expedition must have been decided upon by Shivaji's council early in 1675, that is one year earlier than Raghunath's visit to Shivaji. In short, the originator of the plan was Shivaji himself although, we can concede that, Shivaji was much benefitted from the rich

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1. Sen, Siva Chhatrapati, P.119.
2. Kaeppelin, La Compagnie des Indes Orientales et Francois Martin, 1908, 155.

experiences of Raghunath who was well-versed in the affairs of the Karnatak, for the successful execution of his plan.

Even Sardesai[1] seems to think that Shivaji himself thought of extending his power into the South as his path was securely blocked in the North by the Mughals. In this risky endeavour he took the ready help of Raghunath of Tanjore and Madanna of Golkonda.

According to Martin, Madanna was the author[2] of the plan and suggested that Shivaji should be invited to undertake the conquest, as he would readily agree, if he were to be helped in men and materials. He sent for Shivaji "to render some services to his religion".[3]

Martin says, "Madanna's views were to place this part of the Carnatic once again under the domination of the Hindus and by facilitating its conquest for Shivaji, to make of him a powerful protector."[4]

The Fort St.George letter of 19th June 1677 says that Shivaji was "called in by the king of Golkonda or Madanna to help them to take Chengy, Vealour ..... as far as Porto Novo, out of the Visiapours hands, with the title of Generalissimo".[5]

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1. N.H.M., Vol.I, P.226.
2. Sen: Foreign biographies of Shivaji, P.291.
3. Ibid, P.262.
4. Adrian Duarte: - An Estimate of Madanna from the French Records (J.O.I.H. Vol. XI: pp.298-313); see also Sen: Foreign biographies of Shivaji, P.264.
5. English Records on Shivaji II, P.125.

As an answer to this statement Duarte says:

> "Madanna's meeting with Shivaji as Golkonda did not represent, as it was intended to appear, the commencement of his negotiations with the Maratha chief, but their final consummation. We have Baron's conclusive evidence that Shivaji had entertained the project of invading the Carnatic as early as in 1675".[1]

Therefore it is clear that Shivaji was the originator of this grand project although he received substantial assistance from Raghunath Narayan Hanumante in the execution of its details and whole-hearted supply in men and materials from Madanna who doubtless favoured the creation in the Deccan of a community of Hindu and pro-Hindu states as a defensive bulwark against the ever-pressing encroachment of Moghal India from the North and the West.

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1. J.O.I.H. Vol. XI, P. (An Estimate of Madanna from the French Records.)

CHAPTER IX.

Shivaji's Invasion of Mysore: Chikkadevaraja's Exploits.

Shivaji's visit to Bhaganagar: About the close of 1676, Shivaji commenced his march to the south with an army, it is said, of 40,000 foot and 30,000 horse.[1] Shivaji arrived at Hyderabad (Golkonda) in March 1677. The city of Golkonda was colourfully decorated to welcome the hero. "The streets and lanes on all sides were coloured with a thin layer of kumkum powder and suffron. The citizens in their hundreds and thousands lined in the roads. The splendid army adorned with pearls for their helmets, gold and braceless",[2] rivalling the grandeur and gorgeousness of the city, passed down the streets of Golkonda with Shivaji at their head.

At the auspicious hour chosen for the interview, Shivaji arrived at the Dad Mahal or Palace of Justice. Attended by only five officers, Shivaji ascended the stairs into the palace hall where Qutb Shah was waiting. The Sultan received him most

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1. Sabh. 86. The army that followed Shivaji for Karnataka expedition is estimated by H.Gray in a letter dated 16th Jan.1678, as 20,000 horse and 40,000 foot (English Records on Shivaji, Vol.II, P.150). The Madras Council estimates the force at 16 to 20 thousand horse and several thousand of foot raised and raising amongst the woods" (letter of 19th June 1677 - English Records on Shivaji, Vol.II, P.125); Wilks estimates the army at 40,000 horse, an equal number of foot with a train of artillery (Vol.I, P.50); Kannada account, Chikkadevaraja Binnapam (P.4, V.16) says that Shivaji started with an army of 60,000 horse and a lakh of foot.
2. Sarkar: Shivaji and His Times, pp. 290-291.

honourably and seated him on the royal carpet by his side on terms of equality.

Thereafter the two potentates had many interviews in which they freely talked of the past glories, thrilling events and the future plan.[1]

According to the Rairi Bakhar, Shivaji enlightened the Sultan that if Golkonda and Bijapur would but cooperate with him, he could easily conquer the whole of India for them.[2] A month was consumed in long discussions and conferences and in going through many ceremonies with the Sultan and his ministers. The Sultan agreed to pay Shivaji a daily subsidy of 3,000 pagodas or four and half lacks of Rupees a month, while Wilks says that the Mahrattas received "a pecuniary aid for the present support of the army of about 10 lakhs of pagodas in cash and in valuables".[3] Further the Sultan agreed to send 5,000 men (consisting of 1,000 horse and 4,000 foot) in charge of one of his generals to assist in his endeavour. A train of artillery was also promised. The third agreement was that the conquered territories should be equally divided between the two parties. The fourth one was that they should resist the Moghal's advance against either; and the fifth one was that the Sultan should keep a Maratha ambassador at his court.[4]

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1. Sarkar, Shivaji, P.293; Sardesai: N.H.M., Vol.I, P.231.
2. C.S.Srinivasachari, History of Gingee and its rulers, P.213.
3. History of Mysore Vol.I, P.50.
4. Sardesai: N.H.M., Vol.I, P.232; Sarkar; Shivaji, P.294.

This is confirmed by the English records. A letter of Fort St. George to the company dated 19th June 1677 "........ Sevagee grown great and famous by his many conquests and pillagings of the Mughals and Visapour countrys .... being unfortunately called in by the king of Golkonda or Madanna to help them to take Chengy Vealour and Pamangonda, the remainder of the sea part of the Cornatt country".[1]

Another letter written from Bombay to Surat dated 27th June 1677 says "Mr.Child writes that Sevagee is in a castle of the king of Golcondahs where he intends to winter and after the rains its thought intends against the Carnatic; several of the Deccan Umbras are joined with him and it is believed that perhaps Bulul Cawn and him has agreed to share all between them".[2]

Another letter from Bombay to Surat dated 2nd Aug.1677 says that "Sevagee is at present a great way off in the Carnatic country where he wintered".[3]

This is further confirmed by the kannada source, Chikkadevaraja Binnapam:

> "Shivaji ... with the help of 60,000 horse and a lakh of foot .... had humbled the ruler of Golconda and received the tribute (subsidy) paid by him".[4]

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1. English Records on Shivaji, Vol.II, P.125.
2. English Records on Shivaji, Vol.II, P.127-128.
3. Ibid, P. 133.
4. C.Binnapam, P. 4., V. 16: Shivāji aravathu sāsiram vāravamgaḷum lakkadeṇikeyurkālgāḷam berasu naḍedu .... Gōlukanḍeyavanam banḍugeydu, avanitta kappavanoppugonḍu.

In the same work we find the fear expressed by the chiefs of various places including the Sultan of Hyderabad at the approach of Shivaji's army and the latter was compared to Maya, Sambara, son of the Ravana and Maricha famed in ancient epics x for their devilish qualities:

> "The chiefs of the Delhi and Bhaganagar areas were afraid that Shivaji was either Maya, Sambara, the son of Ravana or Maricha and paid him offerings of tribute by saying "Hail, Lord."[1]

Shivaji's march to Gingee: Having taken delivery of promised arms, money and material and having secured the safety of easy communication to the north Shivaji descended to the South.[2] Kannada source, Chikkadeva Raja Binnappam says, "with the pride of accepting the offerings of tribute from various chiefs, Shivaji suddenly descended into the Carnatic countries."[3]

With a plentiful supply of cash, an efficient park of artillery, Shivaji compelled the ruler of Cuddapah-Karnool (Ananda Rao Deshmukh[4]) to pay atribute of five lakhs of pagodas; he then bathed at the holy Nivritti sangam, the confluence of the Krishna with a tributary stream, the Bhavnashi. He ordered the main body

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1. Ibid., P. 1., V.4: Mayanō Shambaranō Dashāsyasutanō Marīchanō yembinam bhayadindāgare Dilli Bhāgānagara prāntangalōl nādugar jaya jiyendidiritta kappadim .... Shivāji.
2. J.N.Sarkar, Shivaji, P.296.
3. C.Binnapam, P.4, V.16.
4. Wilks makes him the ruler of Karnool - History of Mysore Vol.I, P.96.

of his army to move in the southern direction to Cuddapah, while he himself attended by a chosen body of cavalry proceeded eastward in order to perform his devotions at the celebrated shrine of God, Mallikarjuna at Shri Saila[1] which was to him ' a Kailasa on earth' and "stirred into a wild commotion the spiritual impulses of his heart". Being moved by the quiet and secluded beauty of the scenery and spiritual atmosphere of the place, he decided that no other place was so sacred as this to end his days by cutting off his head, before the god. But the timely help of his ministers cleared off his religious frenzy and brought him back to a sense of his tremendous responsibility to the down-trodden at large. Shivaji distributed a great quantity of alms and built a ghat on the river called the Sri Gangesh Ghat besides cells on the mountain sides for hermits to live in.[2]

After spending a week at Sri Sailam, Shivaji joined the main army which descended into the eastern Carnatic by the Damal cheruva pass (Kallur Ghat) at Ananthapur. Thereafter travelling via Nandayal, Cuddapah, Tirupati and Kalahasti, he quickly reached environs of Madras. Then advancing further Shivaji, it is said, had encamped at Chakrapuri on the bank of the Chakravati river very close to Gingi.

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1. Shri Saila: Kurnool Dist. Mannual, 14, 144, 181, 183.
2. J.N.Sarkar, Shivaji, pp. 296-297; Sardesai, N.H.M., Vol.I, P.235; Wilks, History of Mysore Vol.I, pp. 96-97.

Gingee taken: Andre Freire[1] says that "Shivaji fell upon the place like a thunder-bolt and carried it at the first assault". In July 1677 Shivaji was in possession of Gingi.[2] Bhimsen says that Gingi was captured by treachery.[3] Manucci says that it was his valour and determination that contributed to his success.[4] Letters of Fort St. George do not make any reference to the treachery by which Shivaji conquered Gingee. Martin says " Nasirmamet (Nasir Muhammad of Jinji) who only sought the means of preventing Chircam (Sher Khan of Valikondapuram) from rendering himself the master of Gingee, did not make any alteration to the terms and got ready to receive Sivagy to whom he sent ambassadors as soon as he learnt that he was in Carnatic." [5]

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1. The Nayaks of Madura, P.282. Regarding the capture of Gingee conflicting sources give different versions. Maratta chronicles say that it was captured by treachery but Sarkar refuses to accept it on the ground that it was not supported by contemporary evidences. The Rairi Bakhar says "Shivaji informed the governor Amber Khan that he had come down after making treaties with Bijapura & Golkonda. The governor of the fort believed this and came out to see Shivaji with his eight sons when they were all arrested and the fort captured". The Shivadigvijaya says that Amber Khan came to Shivaji who told him to surrender Jinji if he wanted peace in his district. Upon this he surrendered the fort believing that his safety lay in maintaining close contact with him. Wilks says that while he was marching towards Gingee he announced that he was going there as a friend & ally of Bijapur. When an envoy came to Shivaji from Gingee he told the envoy that he made his peace with Bijapur and he had been his servant. Under this pretext, he asked the old governor and his eight sons to visit him in his camp, put them under arrest and captured the fort. See also various letters on this point in the "English Records on Shivaji" Vol.II, pp. 116-153.
2. Orme, Historical Fragments, P.64.
3. Patwardan & Rawlinson: Source of Maratha History, 168.
4. Ibid, 182.
5. J.I.H. XI; Sen, Foreign Biographies of Shivaji, pp. 264-265.

Two Brothers Meet.

After sending the main body of the army to the siege of Vellore which was one of the strongest fortresses in South India, Shivaji marched towards Tanjore in July[1] and halted at Tiruvadi on the Coleroon to interview his brother Ekoji. An interview was proposed and effected between the two brothers only once in their lives. What happened at the interview has come down to us in two versions, one is complimentary and the other is uncomplimentary to Shivaji. The life of Shivaji based on Maratha bakhars contains an account[2] of how Shivaji invited Ekoji to send three representatives to settle their outstanding differences peacefully. The three representatives who participated in the interview returned to Tanjore and revealed to Ekoji the modest demand of Shivaji. Muslims whose influence was predominent in the court of Ekoji seem to have advised the latter to decline the demand. Furthermore was the promise made by Madura and Mysore to provide him with men and materials in case of necessity[3] But Madura seceded from the alliance by the diplomatic intervention of Raghunath Pant and agreed to pay six lakhs of hun to Shivaji.[4] Ekoji, realising the weakness of his position, visited his brother and his 20 day-sojourn there convinced him of the great

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1. Wilks, History of Mysore Vol.I, pp.100-101; Sarkar, Shivaji, P.303.
2. Takakhav and Keluskar, Life of Shivaji, pp.440-445.
3. The Nayaks of Madura, P.176, F.N.71.
4. Sarkar: Shivaji, P.304.

danger to which was exposed and therefore stealthily escaped. His flight was due to fear that Shivaji might secure him by force, leaving behind him the twelve badges of honour bequeathed by Shahji.[1]

Andre Freire says that after subduing the kingdom of Gingi, Shivaji pretended to respect the provinces possessed by his brother and advanced as if to pay a friendly visit to him. Ekoji full of confidence, came jovially to meet him and found him beyond the Coleroon, three leagues from Tanjore. But natural sentiments were suppressed by greed and ambition; the traitor seized his brother and put him in chains to extort from him all the treasures ...... Ekoji, having managed to escape, crossed the river swimming and hid himself in the woods; Shivaji took possession of all the provinces north of Coleroon.[2] This Jesuit letter is fragmentary and blackens the name of Shivaji by saying that he was treacherous and ambitious-pretender. The true account of the transaction and dealings of Shivaji must have been lost somewhere.

Now we shall see Martin. He says:

> "The first conversation gave evidence of amity and tenderness only, then it came to negotiations when Ecoji discovered that his brother would not let him go unless he had satisfied him about his claims.

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1. Sen. Siva Chhatrapati, P.126.
2. The Nayaks of Madura, P.282.

He also used his cunning and while he offered friendly words he sought some means of withdrawing himself from such a bad strait, he succeeded therein one night, he had a cattamaron (raft) kept ready for him on the banks of Couleron under pretext of necessity, for he was watched, he approached the banks of the river, threw himself into the cattamaron and crossed to the other side which was his country and where he had some troops".[1]

This news being communicated to Shivaji, he immediately ordered that Ecoji who was in his camp to be arrested, along with Jagannath Pandit. Then Shivaji conquered a part of Gingee kingdom.

The Maratha chronicle speaks of the sympathy and tenderness and affection shown by Shivaji to his brother on learning the news of the latter's flight. According to it Shivaji asks "why has he fled? was I going to imprison him? What should I do with the birudas (badges of honour)? My own birandes have spread over the eight directions. Over the seagirt earth my fame has spread, what then should I do with those birandes? I had asked for them as one should have his patrimony. If he did not like to part with them, he was at liberty not to give them. Why did he flee for nothing? He is young, very young and he has acted like a child."[2]

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1. Sen, Foreign Biographies of Shivaji, 303-304.
2. Sen, Shiva Chhatrapati, P.126.

A letter of Fort St.George says that Shivaji "waxed very angry and bad him (Ekoji) begone" who presently went away with 5000 horses".[1]

Another letter says that "The Raja (Shivaji) hath given order to take possession of all his brother's country".[2]

Though the imprisonment of Ekoji by his brother found mention in the letter of Andre Freire, there is no coroborative evidence to confirm it. Yet we can glean from the evidence that some of his followers were put in chain and part of his land that lay north of the Coleroon was conquered by Shivaji.

In August 1677 Shivaji returned to Vellore seizing the territories lying north of the Coleroon[3] and reducing to submission the mischievous chieftains. It was here Shivaji met the ambassadors of the Nayaks of Madura and Mysore[4] who, probably went there in accordance with their masters wishes with offerings of peace. But the subsequent attitude of Shivaji shows that their peace offerings were rejected.

Santaji was appointed the Governor of Gingi. He was assisted by Raghunatha Narayan Hanumante as diplomatic adviser and auditor and Hambir Rao as Commander of the army of occupation.[5] It was

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1. English Record on Shivaji, Vol.II, P. 132.
2. Ibid, P. 133.
3. Sarkar: Shivaji and His Times, P.309.
4. Sen: Foreign Biographies of Shivaji, Vol.II, P.279.
5. Sarkar: Shivaji and His Times, P. 309.

during his return journey that Shivaji came into collision with the ruler of Mysore.

Shivaji's defeat at Srirangapatna: Mysore was rising into great prominence under its capable ruler, Chikkadevaraja. It was this ruler that checked the onward rush of Shivaji and inflicted a crushing defeat on him.

Some scholars[1] expressed great doubt about Shivaji's coming into Mysore during his return journey from Gingi. But we have got certain authorities which categorically say that Shivaji did pass through Srirangapatna. Edward Scott Waring says: "Sevajee passed within 15 miles of Madras, at that period inconsiderable settlement, seized Gingee and extended his incursions into Mysore".[2] Takakhav[3] also says that Shivaji did advance through Srirangapatna. Apart from these authorities there are English India Company letters which clearly state the journey of Shivaji through Srirangapatna.

There were certain reasons for Shivaji's taking the route of Mysore. It is well-known that Chikkadevaraja of Mysore promised help in men and materials to Ekoji against Shivaji.[4] This perhaps provoked the wrath of Shivaji.

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1. Q.J.M.S. Vol. XXXI, P.382.
2. History of the Marattas, P.85.
3. Life of Shivaji Maharaj, P.446.
4. Nayaks of Madura, P.176.

Secondly the kingdom of Mysore was enjoying peace and prosperity in plenty. The land was fertile, rich in agricultural products with a population that led a life of primitive simplicity. Mysore, the land of gold and hidden treasures attracted the attention of Shivaji. Letters of 24th, Aug. 1677 and 31st Oct.1677 refer to the great riches that were carried away by Shivaji from Srirangapatna.[1]

Thirdly the local chiefs who were subdued by and submitted to Chikkadevaraja, by patching up their differences met Shivaji unitedly and disclosed to him the secrecy (of the kingdom).[2] Therefore it must have been the appeal of the subordinate chieftains of Chikkadevaraja that roused the feeling of Shivaji to undertake the expedition into Mysore.

Fourthly it was the design of Shivaji to annex Bednur and to join Kanara to his new conquests.[3]

Of all the objectives stated above, 'Money' was the only ultimate objective that induced Shivaji to put his hand into this difficult venture. After the conquest of Gingi Shivaji was forced to find out lands of gold and money to finance his huge army, because the Sultan of Golkonda refused to pay money for his further conquest. The Sultan refused contributions to Shivaji because the latter did not keep up his promise made at Golkonda.[4]

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1. English Records on Shivaji, Vol.II, P.135 and P.145.
2. Apratima Vira Charitam, I, 30: Andivaninalki bhayadindā manidirpa nripa bandamanitum bharadōlondu veradōlpim sandhisi Shivājiganu vindoredu marmaman.
3. English Records on Shivaji, Vol.II, P.135.
4. J.I.H., Vol.XI, pp. 304-305.

Therefore necessity arose for money.

About the middle of August 1677, Shivaji on his way from Gingi to his ancestral possessions in Karnataka, proceeded to Srirangapatna. A letter of 20th November 1677 says: "We hear that Sevagee is gone with 4,000 horse towards Vizapore or his owne countrey leaving the rest of his forces in his new conquests".[1]

The letter of 24th August 1677 informs us that "Sevagee is at present in the upper Carnatic where he has taken the strong castles of Chengy (Gingi), Chingavore (Tanjore), Pilcundah and several others and shamefully routed the Moors and it is believed has robbed Seringapatam and carried away great riches from thence".[2]

Another letter of 31st October 1677 says:

> "Sevagee this year hath had great success in the upper Carnaticke, in taking the two strong castles of Chengy (Gingi) and Chingyvore, the residence and and court of the Visiapour Viceroys in those parts, also of his plundering the famous city of Seringapatam where he got innumerable riches and still continues in those parts, receiving tribute from the petty Rajahs which submit to him and chastising those that refuse to pay him contributions".[3]

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1. English Records on Shivaji, Vol.II, P.146.
2. Ibid, II, pp.134-135.
3. Ibid, II, P.145.

These English letters clearly indicate how Gingee and Tanjore became an easy prey to the "Mountain rat" - as is commonly said by the English and also how Srirangapatna was plundered and pillaged by him carrying fabulous wealth therefrom. The easy success which attended on him in various places in the Karnataka led the English merchants to believe that Shivaji would extend his dominions from Surat to Cape Comorin without encountering any oppostion.[1]

The sudden rush of Shivaji into the Mysore kingdom was a serious alarm to its ruler, Chikkadevaraja who never dreampt the possibility of such an onset. In spite of it, Chikkadevaraja, with a firm determination, doggedness and fortitute was able to surmount all the mountain high difficulties in the defence of his dominion. The hopeless embarrassment in which Chikkadeva was entangled at the time of Shivaji's Mysore invasion was unparalled. Wilks says:

> "While the transactions in Deckan and Drauveda ~~become~~ became more complicated, the greater powers namely the Moghal lieutenants, the two Muhammadan kings of Deckan and Sevajee found in each other opponents too powerful to admit of their attending, in the manner that their importance required, to the gradual and skilful encroachments of Chick Deo Raj".[2]

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1. English Records on Shivaji Vol.II, P.146.
2. Wilks, History of Mysore Vol.I, P.109.

A contemporary kannada work says that Chikkadevaraja had to encounter danger from every point of the compass caused by the Turukas (Muhammadans), the Morasas (Telugu people of the Kolar District and northeast), the Areyas (Marathas), Tigulas (Tamil people), the Kodagas (people of Coorg), Malevars (hill tribes in the west),[1] in addition to the Qutb Shah of Golkonda and Adil Shah of Bijapur.[2]

No sooner Shivaji entered Mysore than he saw with much gratification the discontented malcontent's assemblage who were prepared to support the cause of the Marauder as having heavily suffered and highly humiliated at the iron hands of Chikkadeva Raja. A contemporary kannada source is eloquent in detailing how Shivaji's task of robbing Srirangapatna was rendered easy by the assemblage of chieftains. It says: "Such of the rulers as had

> submitted to Chikkadevaraja by fear, had come to an union immediately patching up their differences, visited Shivaji (who had appeared in the vicinity of Srirangapatna) and disclosed to him all the secracy of the kingdom, who, profiting by this advanced at their head against Chikkadevaraja".[3]

Chikkadevaraja, who expected the intrusion of Shivaji at the head of a discontented masses into his kingdom, got ready to

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1. C.Binnapam, P.2, Stanza 11. Ondu deseyōl turukarondu kaḍeyōl Morasarondeseyōlāreyara bindamalavim bērondu baliyōl tigulondiravinōl koḍagarondu keladōl malevar.
2. E.C.III (1). Sr.14; C.Binnapam, P.2. Stan.8-9; A.V.C.I, 21.
3. C.Binnapam, P.2, Stan.10; A.V.Ch. I, Stan.30.

encounter him by force. In the battle that ensued in the vicinity of Srirangapatna, Chikkadevaraja won a brilliant victory causing much havoc in the ranks of the enemies.

A kannada contemporary source says:

"when the Maharajadhiraja Raja Parameswara Sri Chikkadeva Maharaja of great valour, the unequalled hero, was devotinghimself to the sacred duty of ruling his empire from his lion throne at Srirangapatna. .... Shivaji who had devastated by means of plunder and guerillawarfare the entire dominions of Delhi with the help of 60,000 horses and a lakh of foot and thus earned for himself great notoriety in northern India; who had defeated the ruler of Vijayapura (Bijapur) and taken his lands and cities; who had humbled the ruler of Golkonda and received the tribute paid by him, suddenly entered owing to that very pride, into the kannada country, Then the king of Mysore (Chikkadevaraja) defeated him in a cavalry fight".[1]

In another place the same work mentions as follows:

"The chiefs of the Delhi and Bhaganagara kingdoms were frightened that Shivaji was either Maya, Sambara, the son of Ravana or Maricha and they all brought offerings of tribute, praising 'Hail lord'. Having thus lost his head through pride, Shivaji attacked Mysore whose raja broke his pride and took the title

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1. C.Binnapam, pp.3-4: Swasti śri man mahārājadhirājam rājaparamēswaram prouda pratāpanapratima vīra narapati śri chikadēva mahārāyam Śrirangapattanadōl sihmāsana rūdhanāgi samrājyadhi kseyam taledu .... prajagalam pālisuttirpinim; uttara dēsadōludvritha charitra nenisi aruvathusāsiram vāruvangalam lekkadenikeyurkālgālum berasu nadedu Delhiyanadanenitumam kolleyolam kallagalāga dolam jallugeydu, Vijayāpuradarasam jeyisi, avara (continued)

"Apratima Vira" (unparalleled hero)".[1]

Further a letter of Fort St.George dated Jan.1679, describing the evacuation of the Maratha army from Karnataka says: "The Meassure (Mysore) Nayak being very strong given Sevagee's men one or two great overthrows and destroyed many of them".[2]

Epigraphic records fully corroborate the literary sources regarding the defeat of Shivaji by the superior military force of Chikkadevaraja. Sriranagapatna Inscription No.64 says:"Chikkadeva Raja had conquered the lord of Madura and withstood Shivaji in the height of his power at the time when the rulers of the countries around Agra, Delhi and Bhaganagar were falling down before him and presenting tribute. He thus acquired the title of Apratima Vira (unrivalled hero) which is one of the distinctive epithets of the Mysore Rajas".[3]

Another epigraphic record narrates a brilliant victory won by Chikkadevaraja over the mighty and powerful Shivaji and other Maratha leaders.[4] These three sources, namely, literary, epigraphic and Fort St.George letter, are emphatic in saying that Shivaji who had never sustained any defeat particularly from a petty chieftain of Chikkadeva's order had to suffer utter discomfiture in the neighbourhood of Srirangapatna by Chikkadevaraja.

(from previous page)

nādu bīdugalam kondu Gōlukondeyavanam bandugeydu, avanitta kappamanoppugondu āsorkinim galkane kannada nādam pokka Shivājiyam ājirangadōlōjegedesi.

1. Ibid, P.1., Verse 4; A.V.C., II, 28: Mayanō Shamba ranō Dashasyasutanō Mārīchanō yembinam Bhaya dindāgare Dhilli Bhāgānagara prāntangalōl nādugar Jayajīyendidiritta kappadodavim pemperi banda Shivājiya sorkam muridikkiapratima vīrābhikyeyam tāldidam
2. Diary & Consultation Book, 1678-1679, P.153.

(continued)

Marathi source says that Shivaji took tribute from the Raja of Srirangapatna. Most probably at the end of the skirmish, Shivaji seems to have found it expedient to content himself with securing some booty from Srirangapatna. Any way the ignominious defeat of Shivaji seems to have been compensated by the acquisition of some booty from Srirangapatna which also gratified his ambition for money. The success which Chikkadevaraja achieved had not only enhanced his repu-tation before the eyes of his contemporaries but decided his position as the undisputed Lord of the kingdom of Mysore to the south of the Karnatak-Bijapur-Balaghat as well.

Though the raid of Srirangapatna by Shivaji was only a passing episode in the general history of the Marathas, it was in fact, an event of supreme significance when viewed from the position that Chikkadevaraja occupied. It was Chikkadevaraja alone, among the several powers of the south that delivered a rude shock to the dream and vision of Shivaji in making a permanent conquest of the kingdom of Mysore to the south of the Karnataka-Bijapur-Balaghat. Having vanquished such a mighty, powerful and daring invader, Chikkadevaraja assumed the title of "Apratima Vira" (unparalleled hero).[1]

Chikkadevaraja was a very potent prince who had kept up

(from previous page)

2. E.C., III (1) Sr.64, see also Sr.14 (1686).
3. E.C., Mys. Dis. Suppl. Vol., Mys. 115, l. 437.

1. This title appears in various places: E.C., III (1) Sr.14; Mys. Dist. Suppl.Vol., Mysore. 115; Sachchudrachara Nirnaya, 122; C.Bin., P.59; Gita Govinda, pp. 39 and 70.

the defence with all his boldness and audacity against Shivaji and made himself so dreadful as to divert him to the territories outside the pale of his dominions. On the whole Chikkadevaraja stood as an opponent to the Marathas in the kingdom of Mysore.

Shivaji's conquest of Maratha territories in Mysore: From Srirangapatna Shivaji extended his arms to his ancestrallpossessions in Karnataka. Bangalore, Kolar, Hoskote, Doddaballapura, Chikkaballapura and Sira - the Jagir districts of his father, Shahji - were all subdued and taken possession of by Shivaji.[1] These districts were held by Ekoji of Tanjore. Sarkar wrongly says that Shivaji conquered no man's land in this region.[2] Turbulant palegars were destroyed; and new forts were built. In that region the karkun named Rango Narayan was appointed as Sarsubadar, who was to act under the eyes and orders of Gingi Governor, Raghunatha Pant. General Manoji More was stationed in Kolar with his contingent. That Shivaji had completely established his authority over the Jagirs of Shahji in Mysore can evidently be proved by his grant of a village named Ramasamudra in that region.[3]

Making due arrangements for the convenient administration of the conquered territories Shivaji recommenced his return journey. "With a success as happy as Caesar's in Spain", Shivaji reported so

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1. Grant Duff: History of the Marattas, Vol.I, P.281; Kincaid and Parasnis: A.H.M.P., P.101; Sardesai: N.H.M., Vol.I, pp.239-240; J.N.Sarkar: Shivaji and His Times, P.308; Rice: Mysore Gazetteer, P.360; Gazetteer of Bombay Presidence Vol.I, Part II, P.654.
2. See AppendixIV
3. Archaeological Reports of Mysore, 1910, P.14.

vast an amount of treasures that he took in Karnataka.[1] The whole Karnataka was peeled to the bones by his system of plunder was the assertion the English factors.[2]

Struggle with Ekoji renewed; Final Settlement: No sooner Ekoji heard of the departure of his brother from his soil than he set his plan in motion with almost clock-work regularity to reconquer the lost territories. For this purpose, he seems to have sought the military aid of the Nayaks of Madura and the king of Mysore and several other palegars but was greatly disappoined as no help was forthcoming from them.[3] Chikkadeva Raya did not extend his help as he himself was involved in a terrible and complicated situation owing to the unexpected raids of Shivaji into Mysore.

In November 1677, the Maratha army under the generalship of Santaji,[4] by crossing the Coleroon river offered a stout resistance to the army of Ekoji that advanced against it. The two armies stood facing each other in the battle field of Valikondapuram[5] for some days; and at last on the 16th November, Ekoji won a brilliant victory. Santaji fled. But the general stung with disgrace, hatched a plan for retriving the fortune of the day. When a sudden dash was made, Ekoji, basking in the sun of victory was struck with fear at the news. Yet Ekoji put up a stout resistance till he was routed out. Skirmishes came to an end by the conclusion of a treaty.

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1. English Records on Shivaji, II, P.150.
2. Madras Records of October 1677;
3. Sarkar: Shivaji, P.310.
4. The Maratha accounts say that Hambir Rao commanded Shivaji's troops in this battle. The Madras Factory Records and the Jesuit missionary say it was Santaji. It is likely both were present, Viceroy and C-in-C. Wilks also believes that Santaji led the army (Vol.I, P.53).
5. Sardesai, N.H.M., Vol.I, P.240.

English letter of 29th Nov.1677 says:

"Sevagees Lieut. and brother Santogee, left in Chengy and neighbouring conquest, was few days since engaged by the forces of their brother Ecogee from Tangiour(Tanjore) being 4000 horse and 1000 foot, his being 6000 horse and 6000 foot. The battle held from morning till night in which Santogee was worsted and fleed 3 quarters of one of these leagues, being pursued one ¼ of a league. When being returned to their several camps, Santogee, consulting with his captains what the importance and shame would bee, resolved to dress and saddle their horse again and so immediately rode away by other ways and in the dead of the night surprised them fast at rest after soe hard labour, their horses unsaddled and made a great slaughter of them, taking nigh 1,000 horse in that manner, the 3 chiefs commanders, the tents and all their baggage and 100 horse more taken by woodmen which fell to share the plunder, the rest fled over the river Coolladow (Cawery) for Tangiour".[1]

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1. English letters on Shivaji Vol.II, P.146. The Jesuit Missionary, Andre Freire writes from a town of Gingee district in 1678. "Santogi actuated by fury fell on the enemy's army like lions, broke the ranks, spread carnage everywhere .... Santoji, obliged to flee, keeps enough composure to place a big detachment in ambuscade; the victors carried away by the dash of success fall into the snare; overtaken in the rear by this detachment, they suddenly see the fugitives turn against them with irresistible impetuosity. After a bloody combat of several hours, they are broken and they leave the battle-field and the honour of victory to Santogi, whose losses are, nevertheless, much more considerable than those of the conquered" (Nayaks of Madura, pp.282-283). Sabhasad 91 describes the battle thus: "Vyankoji's army was four times as large as that of Hambir Rao, but the latter defeated the former". (Sarkar, Shivaji, P.311. F.N.)

Shivaji had learnt the news of an action between Santaji and Ekoji in which both sustained heavy loss in men and materials when he set his foot on the soil of Maharashtra and with a view to bring about a reconciliation between them he despatched a long letter of warning to Ekoji, which 'ranks as a high document of rare value' and which also contains terms of a treaty, making provision for the administration of Tanjore on improved lines. The 15th article is the most important one so far as the Karnatak possessions are concerned. It says:

> "that the districts of Bangalore, Hoskote and Sira (Shiralkot) yielding a revenue of 2 lakhs of Hons have already been conquered by us: when well managed will soon be worth 5 lacs; we assign these districts as a voluntary present to our sister-in-law Dipa Bai, wife of Ekoji. Ekoji may supervise their management but not to lay claim to them".

In fact Shivaji had transferred all the Karnatic possessions to Ekoji himself.[1]

The army of occupation under Hambir Rao was recalled to Maharashtra and Raghunath maintained a force of 10,000 horse for the defence of the new province.[2]

The admonishing letter of Shivaji filled Ekoji with remorse.

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1. Sardesai: N.H.M., Vol.I, pp.242-243.
2. Sarkar, Shivaji pp.311-312; Sardesai, N.H.M., Vol.I, P.240; Takakhav, Life of Shivaji Maharaj, pp.451-455.

For hours together he ~~sat~~ sat moodily burried in thought. At last his wife Dipabai came and consoled him filling him with the spirit of the Maratha blood which opened his eyes to the deception practised by his own Muslim friends around him. Ekoji had ratified the treaty before the eyes Raghunath Pandit whom he ~~was~~ summoned for the purpose. Shivaji was highly gratified at this amicable settlement of a long standing dispute.[1]

Santaji, settling this long-drawn dispute satisfactorily according to the instructions of Shivaji, proceeded to Vellore to effect its siegeto a speedy termination.[2] The departure of Shivaji from the south made the task of Santaji in reducing the fort very painful and after a protracted siege of an year,[3] Raghunath Pant was able to capture the fort about the middle of Aug.1678. After the fall of Vellore, Santoji ruled this southern kingdom entrusted to him ably, and peacefully for some years. Expecting a Moghal attack in the near future, he applied all his energies and resources to strengthen its fortifications.

Chokkanatha missed the opportunity: While the two armies of Ekoji and Santoji were engaging themselves in the death-struggle, it was the golden opportunity for Chokkanatha to reduce an alian who had grown powerful and mighty in his own kingdom declaring

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1. Sardesai, N.H.M., Vol.I, P.241; Takakhav, Life of Shivaji Maharaj, pp.455-462.
2. The Jesuit letter (Nayaks of Madura, P.283) says that Santoji rejoined his brother Shivaji who was engaged in the siege of vellore. This is incorrect as Shivaji was already in Maharashtra by this time.
3. Takakhav, Life of Shivaji, pp.439-440, No.2. A Jesuit letter says that the siege of Vellore lasted for more than a year (Nayaks of Madura, P.283)

himself an independing king. This opportunity offered itself when Ekoji ignominiously retreated from the disastrous war with Santaji. But Chokkanatha had no strength of will to strike a blow at the demoralized army of Ekoji and take from him all that he had lost. Instead of that, the pleasure-loving king came to an understanding with Santoji according to which he gave him innumerables riches in return for the promised cession of the kingdom of Tanjore. But unfortunately the whole thing went awry owing to the treaty made between Santoji and Ekoji. Stung with disgrace, Chokkanatha returned to Trichinopoly losing men, money and time.[1]

Ekoji and Chikkadeva Raya 1678.

The conclusion of the peace between Ekoji and Santoji according the instructions of Shivaji had brought to ~~the~~ normal position the disturbed atmosphere of South India. During the the disastrous war with ~~Ekoji~~ Santoji, Ekoji humbly made an appeal to Chikkadeva of Mysore for military assistance which was rejected on the ground of too-much-of work consequent on the sudden dash of Shivaji into the Mysore kingdom. This being considered a great insult, was fresh and green in the mind of Ekoji. He was waiting for an opportune moment to avenge the insult which came rightly when Chikkadeva engrossed himself in projecting the northern campaign.

Yasavantha Rao, the Prime Minister of Ekoji[2] was appointed

1. Nayaks of Madura, P.283.
2. C.Bin. P.4: Ekkōjiya mahāpradhānanenisuva Yesavanta rao.

the general of the army to carry on the war with the ruler of Mysore. Yasavantha Rao, proceeding with forced marches, attacked Hosur.[1]

The army of Mysore took notice of it and immediately went there for its defence. In the terrible battle fought at Hosur, the Commander of the Maratha army had lost his nose and his army dispersed. Thus it was a distinct victory to the ruler of Mysore.

Shivaji's adventure during his return journey from Mysore.

Shivaji's defeat at Bellary: While Shivaji was returning to his homeland after the speedy termination of the Karnatak campaign, he had happened to pass through Bellary[2] which was then under the control of a queen, having all the palegars dead. His troops plundered and pillaged some of the territories there which soon brought about a collision between Shivaji and the queen. The queen's army retaliated and caused great havoc in the main army of the Marathas. For perpetrating horrible cruelties and murder on the hastening army by the queen's troops, Shivaji demanded the surrender of the fort as compensation which was vehemently rejected. The result was the war which was prolonged for 27 days in which the

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1. A.V.C. III, P.32, V.9: Posa ūram muttidudam Masagi mahisurabhaṭa reydidudam Misuguvinam mūgaridudu Nesavantam kōkilāmramendam mandam see also II, 13, III, 55, 101, 114 and 123, 166, 172, IV, 2; C.Bin, P.4; Gi.Gop, P.63; Sach.Nir, I 59, 61; E.C.IV(1) Sr. (14).
2. Sarkar: Shivaji and His Times, P.308.

queen gallantly defended the fort with undaunted courage and resourcefulness. Shivaji stood before the fort speechless being stricken with marvellous energy, ability and prowess and the lady had had in conducting the defence of the fort.

At the end of the day of the battle, Shivaji had voluntarily restored all the conquered territories and the fort to the queen agreeing to receive tribute as the compensation of the war.[1]

Shivaji's defeat at Belgaum.

The remarkable irruption of Shivaji into the Mysore table land had wrought important consequences. Apart from that, Shivaji's return journey was attended with extraordinary discomfiture which was much more severe viewed from the angle of hard-won reputation than one he had at Mysore. Being duly informed of the aggressive activities of the Mughals and other Muslim powers in the vicinity of Maharashtra, Shivaji accelerated his march so as to be at home in time to parry a possible attack upon his own dominions. Crossing the Tungabhadra by way of Kopal, Gadag, the entire army of Shivaji reached Lakshmishwar.[2] The chief namely Khangauda had left the

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1. This is a traditional account prevailing and preserved among the Kuruba chieftains of Bellary. See Kurubara Charitre by V.R.Hanumanthiah, Ch.VII, pp.124-125; See also Bellary District Gazetteer, P.44.
2. His route is thus given in Sabhasad, 91: Kolhar-Balapur-Kopal-Lakshmishwar - Sampgaun - Belvada - Panhala.

fort in fear and it was taken possession of by the Marathas. Finally reaching Belvadi,[1] after taking possession of Banakpur and other places, Shivaji had to fight a widowed lady proprietor namely Savitri bai[2] who delivered an attack on the rapidly hastening army. Her fort was invested by the Maratha army, but she heroically defended it for 27 days, after which it was captured by assault and she herself was captured. When she was brought before Shivaji as prisoner, the latter struck with astonishment at the bravery and steadfastness of the lady, sent her back with due honours and presents.[3]

Any way the serious check that Shivaji encountered at the hands of a poor lady had greatly lowered the prestige of Shivaji.

A letter of 28th February 1678 written from Rajpore to Surat says: "He is at present besieging a fort where by relation of their owne people come from him, he has suffered more disgrace than ever he did from all power of the Mogall or Decans & he who hath conquered soe many kingdoms is not able to reduce this woman Dess

Another disappointment of Shivaji was that he was not able to purchase Bijapur which was kept for sale by Jamshid Khan owing to the treachery practised by other competetors. The innate desire in making bid for that was to secure the position of a keeper

1. Belvadi, a small village 12 miles s.c. of Sampgaon and 30 miles s.c. of Belgaum.
2. The name of this lady is given as Lalbi by Sabhasad. The Shiva-digvijaya gives her name as Savitribai. Sabhasad and Shedgavkar bakhars say that she was captured and punished while the Tarikh-i-Shivaji says that she was captured and dishonoured by Sakhuji Gaekwad, whom Shivaji punished with imprisonment.
3. Takhakav: Life of Shivaji Maharaj, see and compare Sardesai's Marathi Riyasat, P.200.
4. English Records on Shivaji Vol.II, P.157.

of Adil Shah state as his father had been of the Nizam Shah. But he was thoroughly duped as the Adil Shahi capital fell into the hands of Siddi Masaud (21st Feb.1678) and returned to Panhala in the first week of April 1678.[1]

The English letter of April 3rd says: "Jamshid Khan since the death of his master found himself incapable of longer holding out, agrees with Shivaji to deliver up (the fort of Bijapur) to him for 600,000 pagodas. Siddi Masaud, having intelligence of this feigns sickness, at last death and causes a handol publicly to be sent away with part of the army to Adoni, the residue .... to Jamshid pretending since the leader was dead, if he would entertain them they would serve him. He presently accepts their service and receives them into the fort, who within two days seized his person, caused the gates to be opened and received the Siddi alive".

<u>Organisation of conquered territories:</u> Many of the local chieftains who refused to pay annual tribute to the Bijapur Government were chastised by the Marathas and reduced to obedience. The chieftains of Kanakagiri, Harpanahalli, Rayadurga, Chitradurga and Vijayanagara were reduced to submission; and the conquered territories were formed into a compact province of Shivaji's kingdom and placed under Janardan Narayan Hanumanthe.[3]

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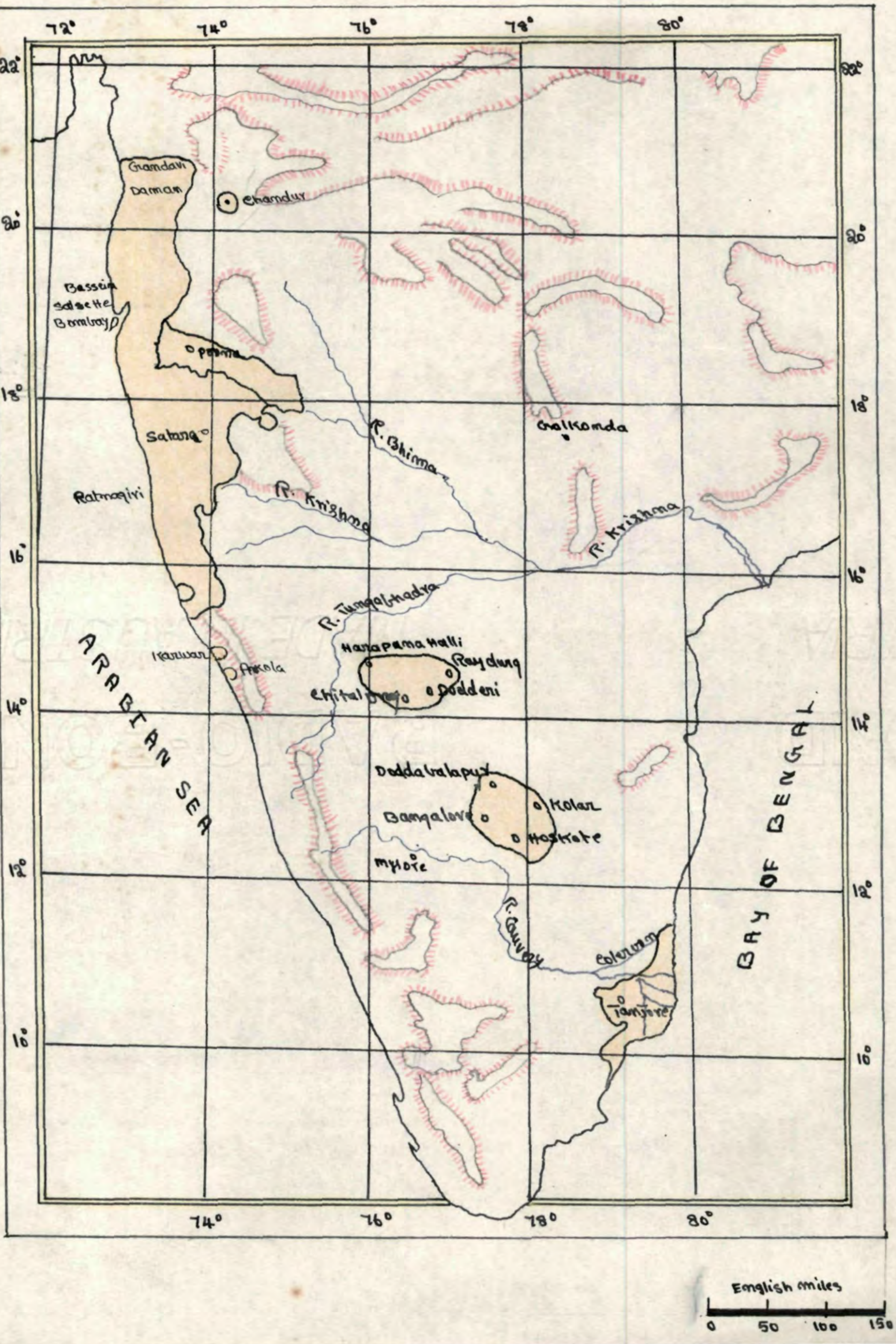
1. Sarkar: Shivaji, P.318.
2. English Records on Shivaji, P.160 (Vol.II.)
3. Sarkar: Shivaji and His Times, P.321.

SHIVAJI'S TERRITORIES.



Chikkadeva Raja and Madura.

Fee ing frequently of the avarice for territory, Chikkadeva projected a campaign. The victory he won over the daring invader, Shivaji contributed not a little to his ambitions. Further the absence of the Golkonda and Bijapur Sultans from the territory of Mysore added as a stimulous to the projected campaign of aggrandisement of Chikkadeva. Symptoms of the establishment of mastery of Mysore over the southern region were already made themselves felt when Mysore and Maharashtra involved in the game of territorial expansion at the cost of their neighbours and Maharashtra withdrew owing to the pressure of Mysore.

The beginning of the year of 1678 found the full maturity of the territorial designs of Chikkadeva. The weak and vacillating foreign policy of Chokkanatha in addition to chaos and confusion that reigned supreme in the Madura kingdom had afforded an excellent opportunity to Chikkadevaraja to materialise the long cherished goal of swallowing little by little the kingdom of Madura. In Jan.1678 he delivered a surprise attack on the forts of Andiyur and Kunnattur situated on the frontiers guarding the dominions of Madura and took them by assault from the hands of Ghatta Madaliar.[1]

Then he directed his marches towards Erode in pursuit of

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1. Wilks, Vol.I, P.225. He calls the chief as 'patadomodelare' (Pattada Madaliar or Ghattada Madaliar); Annals I, P.106, Mys. Dho.Pur., II, 33; Kamala Mahat, I, 130-131; Hasti Mahat; I, 77; Venkata Mahat, I, 48-49; Sachch Nir., I, 53; A.V.C., III, 8.

its chief Akka Reddi who submitted to him after a while.[1]

Andre Freire says:

> "The king of Mysore entered them, without striking a blow and took possession of the only two fortresses which Madura had preserved till then in the north".[2]

Chokkanatha's inability to encounter Chikkadevaraja led to his ruin. The Jesuit letter states:

> "The principal lords of the kingdom, vexed at the conduct of the Nayak, conspired against him, put him in prison, on the pretext of madness and raised to the throne Muttulinga Nayaka, his brother; whose government is neither wiser nor less tyrannical."

Muttulinga Nayaka succeeded to the throne in 1678.[3] The newly enthroned king had to wrestle with many problems facing him. Administration was inefficient; Nature was unfavourable; resentment of the people was great. Andre Freire gives a heart-rending picture in his letter of 1678.[4] In the midst of political confusion and chaos, Rustam Khan, a Muhammadan adventurer of great ability usurped the throne. To cloak his usurpation, he proclaimed Chokkanatha the king, releasing him from the prison and became the dictator of Madura.

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1. Kamal Mahat., I, 132; Hasti Mahat., I:C.; Bhag.Gi.Ti., I, 53.
2. Nayaks of Madura P. 284.
3. Ibid, P.181.
4. Ibid, P.285.

Short-sightedness imprudence, disrespect for royal authority of the usurper had quickened his downfall within so short a period of one year.[1]

Conquests in the north: Making suitable arrangements for the defence of the soutern countries of Mysore, Chikkadeva Raja directed the forces of conquest in the direction of the North. Chikkatotlagere and Koratagere - strong forts were easily reduced and their chiefs tendered their submission without any opposition.[2] Then he laid siege to Magadi and negotiated with its chief to make the payment of tribute annually.[3] Again he carried fire and sword into the region of Muddagere which seemed to have been a celebrated place then and subdued its chiefs, Timmappagauda and Ramappa Gauda during May - June 1678 and the other dependent territories fell one after the other into the hands of Chikkadeva. Kudur, Virahna durga, the peak of Maddagiri and Hosur - all fell between June - July 1678.[4] Channaraya durga and Manne Kolala, in Aug; the peak of Midagesi, Bijjavara, Gundumaledurga and Bhutipura in Sept.-Oct.1678 were taken successively.[5] The reduction of this chain of hill-forts one after another like an house of cards had definitely increased the reputation of Chikkadeva as an able and unconquerable general of the time and drew the sphere of influence of Mysore, parallel to Sira,

1. Nayaks of Madura, P.181-182.
2. Mys.Dho.Pur., II. 34; Kamala Mah., I, 148; Compare Annals, I. P.106.
3. Annals, I, P.110-111.
4. Annals, I. P.106; Mys.Dho. Pur., II, 33-36; Hasti.Mah. I. 82-83; Sri Mahat., I, 40; Venkata Mahat, I., 50; Sachcha, Nir., I, 56-59; A.V.C., III, 82; C.Bin, P.59; Gi.Go.; pp.39, 70, 37, E.C., III, Sr.151; Wilks I, pp.225-226.
5. Chi.Bin., P.59; Annals, I, P.106.

the paternal property of Shivaji in the Karnatak-Bijapur-Balaghat. This forms a brilliant record to the credit of Chikkadeva as a conqueror.

While Chikkadeva Raja was performing miraculous feats in the reduction of chain of impregnable forts in the north, wielding the sceptre of an empire, winning victories over all his enemies, having been secure in his claim to suzerainty as "Sultan of Hindu kings" and "Emperor of the South and of the Karnataka country" as reflected in epigraphical[1] and literary sources,[2] the great king Shivaji breathed his last on April 5, 1680.[3]

<u>Estimate of Shivaji</u>: The picture of Shivaji painted by the poets of Chikkadevaraja's court was grim and ghastly. He had been compared, unhappily with the giants, famed in our celebrated epics as the destroyers of mankind and disturbers of peace and tranquillity.[4] It is true that Shivaji's war-like genius was astonishing. In training troops, devising strategy, inventing tactics, scouring the Deckan in every direction, his brilliance of mind was unsurpassed. He had made himself so dreadful to his neighbours as to make the kingdom of Mysore tremble at his approach and in fact made the people of Mysore feel the direful effects of his fury, by plundering all the country around about and carrying away innumerable riches. The terrible havocs caused by

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1. E.C. III (1) Sr.151, Ibid., Bangalore Dist.Suppl.Vol., Bn.114.
2. C.Vam., P.166; Kamala, Mahat., I, 149, 152-154; C.Vi., IV, 51; Ruk. Cha., Col.; Yad.Mah., II, ff.27; Sri.Mahat II, 44-45; Mbh.Santi and Salya col; Sachch ., Nir., I. 50;
3. Kincaid and Parasnis P.110, assign the 3rd of April as the date of Shivaji's death; J.Sarkar: Shivaji, P.339 assigns 4th of April to be the date of his death. History of Marathas - Edward Scott Waring P.87 - 5th April.
4. C.Bin, P.1, V.4.

him in circumjacent places were unrepairable for long years. If Shivaji had not been a dreadful figure, as has been portrayed, he would not have achieved what he intended and what he did. The high-born high-spirited Deckan chieftains would never have bowed low their heads before the Maratha blast.

But Shivaji was not a full incarnation of bloodthirsty giant, as has been depicted by the court poets of Chikkadevaraja. The deep religious feeling, many instructive virtues, the chivalrous temper and the vast ability of Shivaji should not be over-looked. The insolent, overweening vanity which has proved the ruin of so many commanders both in ancient and modern times, found no place in Shivaji's admirably balanced mind.

It would not be unfair to say a word about the characteristics of the Hindu writers of the 17th century. The survey of their writings would reveal how their minds are tinged with bias and prejudices. In extolling their masters who had been their bread-givers and on whose salt they thrived, they would elevate them to the seventh Heaven. Those that were disposed unfriendly to their masters were criticised and condemned in all their abusive words. Therefore the greatness of Shivaji's can be fully realized not from the pens of these Hindu writers but from a survey of his achievements elsewhere.

Shivaji was surely one of the greatest conquerer's of the world:- Shivaji had been depicted by many as a robber, free booter, a Mountain Rat, a Mountain Monkey, as a false, perfidious and heart-less man a mean fellow and a giant who had wrought incalculable havocs the countries he traversed and a wretched fellow who threw to

the floods the laws of man and god. Common sense enlightens that these remarks were made by only the enemies who had suffered from his depredations. The unbiased and impartial judgment of History does not blacken his name, but on the contrary raises him to the foremost position of 'The Great'.

Really Shivaji was one of the greatest generals of the world. Orme befittingly says: "In personal activity he exceeded all generals of whom there is record. For no general ever traversed as much ground as he at the head of armies. He met every emergency of peril, however sudden or extreme, with instant discernment and unshaken fortitude; the ablest of his officers acquiesced to the imminent superiority of his genius and the boast of the soldier was to have seen Shivaji charging sword in hand".[1]

Greatest Conqueror:- The Carnatic campaign of Shivaji elevates him to the foremost rank of the greatest conquerors of the world. Having two powerful and mighty rulers such as Aurangzeb and the Bijapur Sultan on his either side whose ambitions were to crush Shivaji where-ever he was found and having a wavering ally of the Golkonda king, Shivaji set out from Rairi on a distant daring expedition of the Carnatic. He successfully traversed India from the Sahyadri Hills to Tanjore and back again from the Coromandel to the Malabar coast. Kincaid and Parasnis rightly say:

> "In the course of eighteen months, at a distance of 700 miles from his base, he had conquered a territory

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1. Historical Fragments P.94.

as large as his former kingdom. Victory has succeeded victory; town had fallen after town. As he went he organized his conquests; and when he returned to Raygad, as he now did, his new possessions were securely bound together from sea to sea, by a line of fortified strong-holds held by garrisons brave to the death & devoted to his cause."[1]

The factory records furnish us with contemporary information regarding the Carnatic campaign of Shivaji. A letter of 21st October 1677 refers to the easy success of Shivaji in the Carnatic and the terror and the horror with which most of the chieftains tendered their submission at the approach of this great general. It further refers to "the Moors leaving their fortress and strongholds upon any rumour of his approach and such is the great success that attends his Armys, that it is credibly believed he will shortly extend his dominions from nere Surat to Cape Comorine without encountering any considerable opposition to confront him.".[2]

Another letter of Jan. 16, 1678 is most important one as it compares Shivaji to the famous Roman conqueror Caesar who carried sword and fire into Germany, France and Britain threatening almost their foundations. Further it asserts that Shivaji was no less in

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1. A History of the Maratha people, P.103. With a few checks and reverses that Shivaji sustained in Mysore and in Bellary, the other achievements are remarkable. The statements of Kincaid & Parasnis must be understood giving margin to the discomfiture of Shivaji at Mysore.
2. English Records on Shivaji, Vol.II, pp.145-146.

some of the great qualities than Alexander the Great. It says that Shivaji being carried by an ambitious desire to be famed a mighty conqueror left Rairi with a big army and swept away great cities like Gingee and Tanjore and "with a success as happy as Caesars in Spaine, he came, saw and overcame and reported so vast a treasure in gold Diamonds, Emeralds .... Being noe lesse dexterous than Alexander the Great .... he tooke in lesse than 8 months time from the Mogall .... 23 inaccessible ones".[1]

Another letter of 14th Feb.1678 further goes and compares him to Sertorious and Hannibal and throws light on the master-stroke of policy which the founder of the Maratha Empire followed in the last days of his life. He negotiated with the Bijapurians causing diversion between Bijapur and the Moghal Emperor and raided the territories of the Moghals. The letter says: "It is too well that Sevagee is a second Sertorius and comes not short of Honnibal for stratagems."[2]

Jean-Baptiste Tavernier says: "As he (Shivaji) was both courteous and liberal he had as many followers ..... as he cared for."[3]

Dr.Dellon writes that "Sevagi is a very potent prince who has managed his affairs with so much of prudence as to have established himself, in spite of his potent enemies."[4]

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1. English Records on Shivaji, Vol.II, pp.149-150.
2. English Records on Shivaji, Vol.II, P.153.
3. ~~Ixixix~~ Travels in India by Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, edited by Sir Wm.Crooke Vol.I, pp.145-148.
4. A Voyage to the East Indies, pp.37, 55-57.

All the above sources confirm that Shivaji was one of the greatest soldiers, generals and conquerors of the world. In diplomacy, statesmanship and kingly virtues he has excelled all his contemporaries. Though Kannada Sources compare him to Maya, Sambara, son of Ravana and other giants, yet we find in English and other records Shivaji being comparable to Alexander, Sertorius, Hannibal, Caesar and Nepolean in Exploits. Therefore he fully deserves the titles of Shivaji the Great, Shivaji the Indian Alexander, the Indian Nepolean, Indian Hannibal, Indian Sertorius and Indian Caesar.

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CHAPTER X.

Sambhaji in Mysore, 1666-1680: Battles of Srirangapatna and Trichinopoly.

While we have some details concerning Raja Sambhaji's[1] activities after his enthronement in Maharashtra consequent on the death of his father Shivaji, we know practically little or nothing concerning his doings in Mysore before that event especially during the last 14 years of Shivaji's life. Several inscriptions found in Mysore State throw plenty of light on the activities of Sambhaji in Mysore before 1680.

According to Sabhasad Shivaji had two sons, the eldest of whom, born of Sai Bai, was called Sambhaji.[2] He saw light on 14th May 1657 at Purandar.[3] He seems to have been married when he was quite an young boy. His wife issued a grant in Kolar taluk. An inscription found at Huttur, Kolar taluk, dated 20th January A.D. 1666 says that "Jayati Bayi Amma, lawful wife of Sambhaji Raja, the son of Sivaji Raja of the kausika gotra and Bhosla family made to Bhavuji Pant, a grant".[4] There is no room for discussion on the point of identity of Sambhaji for, the epigraph explicitly says

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1. Sarkar consistently spells Sambhaji as Shambuji, and Shambhu see his Shivaji and His Times (3rd ed) P.142, 153 etc. but the Marathi, Kannada and Sanskrit records call him Sambhaji.
2. Sabhasad, Siva Chatrapaticen Caritra (1830), P.8.
3. Jedhe Sakavali in Shivaji Souvenir, P.8.
4. E.C. X.Kl.227, P.65. text, P.74: Vijayābhyudaya śālivāhana śaka varusangalu 1588 ne visavāvasu samvatrarada pusya ba. 10, dayapunya kāladallu srimat kausikagōtra Bhosala nīla Sivāji rājara putrarāda Sambhāji rajara kula stri Jayita Baya ammanavaru, kotta bhūdāna.

that Sambhaji was the son of Shivaji Raja . The wife Jayita Bayi is the kannada version of Marathi Jeu Bai . Perhaps Jayita Bai was married to Sambhaji when he was just 9 years old. Another inscription issued four years later by the same queen confirms the inference. That inscription was found at Jannapalli, Kolar taluk and dated Monday 21st March 1670. It states that by order of the queen (matusri) Jayita Bayiamma, the Sugatur hobali Havaldar Vithala Panditaraya and Brahmans of the Agrahara made a grant.[1] According to these two epigraphs, Huttur and Sugatur in the Kolar taluk came to be administered by the Maratha power till 1670.

Now these two epigraphs do not make mention of Sambhaji's presence in person at the above mentioned places. On the contrary his wife's presence was clearly stated. Where exactly Sambhaji was? Whether he was in Maharashtra or Karnataka is the problem now to be solved. On the basis of Sabhasad, Sarkar says that "Shivaji took leave of his family at Rajgarh and began his journey to North India, about the third week of March, 1666, with his eldest son Shambhuji,seven trusty chief officers and 4000 troops."[2] Towards the end of December in the same year he was at Rayagad. Then consequent on the agreement made in 1668 between Shivaji and Aurangzeb, Sambhaji was sent to the viceroy's court at Aurangabad. After an interview with the Viceroy, Sambhaji was made Commander

1. Ibid Kl.224, P.64, text, P.73: Sādhāranada samvatsarada caitra su 10 - lu srimatu Jayita bayiamma navara appaneli Sugatura hōbali Havaldara rājasri vithala pandita rāyananavara runnu-agrahārada mahājanangalu saha ....
2. Sarkar: Shivaji and His Times(3rd ed), P.142.

of 5000 and assigned a Jagir in Birar.[1] Therefore, according to Sabhasad Sambhaji had been away in north India and was not found in Mysore. How to reconcile the two sources of information? My inference is that Sambhaji went to Maharashtra from Mysore in order to accompany his father to Delhi after handing over the responsibilities of the administration of Kolar to his wife Jayita Bai. It may be questioned that how an young lady was placed to govern the territory? The answer is clearly supplied by the inscription which says that by the order of Jayita Bayiamma a charitable grant was made by Vithala Pandita. This means that Vithala Pandita who had made the grant must have occupied a responsible position. In the light of this we can say that Vithala Pandita was acting as Chief Minister to help the inexperienced lady on the viceregal throne.

Nextly on the eve of the death of his father Shivaji in 1680 Sambhaji seems to have been in Mysore with his residence at Nandi from where, according to the epigraphic record, he repulsed the invasion of the Muslims. To understand how Sambhaji had been to Nandi at the time of his father's death requires a slight retrospective study.

Sabhasad informs us how Shivaji called upon his son Sambhaji to bear the burden of the administration of some portion of distant Karnataka which he conquered during his daring southern expedition of 1677. Shivaji addresses his son as follows:- "Thou Sambhaji

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1. Sardesai: N.H.M. Vol.I, pp.183-184.

art one; and Rajaram is the second. So I shall divide all my kingdom into two. The kingdom of Gingee, stretching from Tungabhadra to the Kaveri, is one kingdom. The second is a kingdom on the other side of the Tungabhadra, extending up to the river Godavari. Such are the two kingdoms (I have). Thou art my eldest son, I confer on you the kingdom of the Karnatak; the kingdom on this side I give to Rajaram."[1] The newly conquered area of the Karnatak seems to have consisted of seventy-nine forts which were "newly conquered" by Shivaji, according to Sabhasad. Among these forts, districts of Kolar and Ballapura over the Ghats, besides Bhor, Kot, Kolar[2] figure prominently. The newly conquered Karnataka of Shivaji extended from the Tungabhadra right up to the Kaveri comprising several important districts like Kolar, Dodda Ballapura, Gingee and Vellore.[3] It was to this Karnatak area, Sambhaji was invited by his dying father. At first Sambhaji obeyed the order of his father, but later changed his tone and refused the offer. How strongly Shivaji felt sad on the occasion can be clearly made out from his last words to his courtiers:[4] " I am going to Kailasa to see the Sri, feeling that my body was growing weak, I said to my eldest son Sambhaji - 'you two are my sons. I am dividing the kingdom between you and you two should live in amity'. So I said, but the eldest son Sambhaji RAJE did not listen to (this counsel), it seems my end has come".[5] Shivaji then, celebrated the marriage of

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1. Sabhasad, op.ci, P.78; Sen, op.cit., P.132.
2. Ibid P.15; Ibid P.145.
3. Ibid P.86; Ibid P.148.
4. Ibid P.78; Ibid P.132.
5. Ibid P.86; Ibid P.148.

Rajaram at Raygad on 15th March 1680[1] and on that occasion "the elder son, Sambhaji Raje, was not present".[2]

Shivaji died in the year 1680[3] and at that time Sambhaji was away. Where was Sambhaji at this time? To this, answer is supplied by the Mysore inscription. A record found at Nandi hill, Chikka Ballapura Taluk, dated A.D.1680 says:

> Obeisance to Nandiswara. In the east of the Karnataka country is the mountain named Nandi, very lofty and impregnable, with only one path, filled with Champaka, asvatha (trees). At the very top the huge cliff is adorned with a temple. In the Ballapura kingdom, the great mountain was made a hill fort, being reckoned a secure protection from the fear of enemies. In order to seize the hill fort, a Mlenchha came with a great force but at length was beaten off greatly distressed. (On the date specified), Siva-Chatrapati's son Sambaji-Raje is ruling here in peace. And the durgadhikari (or governor of hill forts) Balaji Krishna, governing the Jagadeva hill-forts, here, in pursuance of Raghunatha Pandita's orders, took over the command (or possession) of his fine hill fort".[4]

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1. Jedhe Sakavali as cited in Shivaji Souvenir, P.25.
2. Sabhasad, op.cit, P.89; Sen, op.cit, P.153.
3. Jedhe Sakavali as cited in Shivaji Souvenir, P.25.
4. E.C. X, CB 32, P.205, text, P.250:

   Śri Nandīśvarāya namaḥ
   dēse karnātake pūrve parvatō Nandi namakaḥ
   aty unnato abhedyar cha margenaikena samyutah
   champakasvatha - naringa tamalaih paritas sritah
   atyuchchrayo maha - vapro devalaya - vibhushitaḥ
   rajye Ballāpurasyaiva durgam kritva mahā girim
   mene satru bhayat tratum svayam asti vinischitam

(continued)

According to this inscription Sambhaji was living peacefully in Chikkaballapura in that year. This epigraph also implies that Sambhaji made Nandi hill as his summer resort as his grand father Shahji used to. Now the problem is who the daring Mlechha was that besieged the fort? Mlechha means a Muslim. So the Muslim that came as far as Nandi hill was no other than Dilir Khan, the Moghal Commander.

In A.D. 1679 Dilir Khan declared war against the Sultan of Bijapur and caused incalculable havoc around the southern region of Bijapur; but his whole plan was shattered to pieces owing to the intrigues practised by Shah Alam relying on whose letter Augangzeb wrote a strong letter to Dilir Khan as follows: "You have neither protected my dominions nor gained your object. Withdraw quickly from the siege of Bijapur".[1]

In the meanwhile, on the 30th Nov.1679 Sambhaji escaped from Bijapur.[2] On 29th January 1680, losing all hope of fighting against Bijapur, Dilir Khan retraced his steps. When his hopes were foiled, Dilir Khan gave vent to his worst passions and roamed about like a mad dog, slaying and looting. During his return journey he besieged Sagar but being defeated by Ram Nayak its ruler, he was disgraced

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grihitam durgam agrahyam Mlēnchho bahu balanvitah
agama .... tato Jatah taditotyanta vimhvalah
.... Sakābda - sahasram dvi-tri-sāta-dve-varse
Raudrau S'ravana suddha shashth, yam
Budhe cha vare Siva - chhatrapateh kumaro Sambhōji rad atra
mudanu s asti
durgādhikāri - Jagadeva - sudurgakani Bālāji Krishno hy
anusasti yatra
ājnānusari Raghunātha - supanditasya jagraha durgōttama -
yajamanyam

The date is worked out by Swamikannu Pillai, An Indian Ephemeris, Vol.VI, P.163.

(for foot-note 1 and 2 please see next page)

and recalled, while returning he moved northwards along the east side of Bijapur perpetrating horrible cruelties on the populace.[1]

Sambhaji was ruling peacefully in Chikkaballapura which is fairly a big town, 36 miles north-west of Kolar. We know on the 21st February 1680 Dilir Khan, having sustained defeat at the hands of Pam Nayaka, moved northwards. It was from Sagar which lies north-west of Mysore that the Khan was driven out. It is possible that Dilir Khan heard about Sambhaji, staying in Chikkaballapura and therefore decided to attack him. It is likely that he had never forgotten the hide and seek which Sambhaji played in the previous year Therefore Dilir Khan made a sudden dash on the hill fort with all his forces but as the epigraphic record points out "was beaten off greatly distressed" by Krishnaji Pant, Governor of the fort under Sambhaji. The Muslim general has therefore, been contemptuously styled in this inscription as a Mlenchha which implies merely a non-Hindu. No other general invaded any part of Maratha kingdom in this portion of Karnataka in this year. According Khafi Khan two princes, Akbar and Muazzam came as far as Baglan[2] part of Sambhaji's territory but no mention is made of the prince Akbar, as having come to any part of the Mysore State, much less Chikkaballapura. The other prince, Muhammad Muazzam was ordered by Aurangzeb, after his arrival at Aurangabad in A.D.1681 "to reduce the fort of Salir near the fort of

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1. Basatin as Salatin 432 as cited in Sarkar's Aurangzeb, Vol.IV, P.166.
2. Sarkar: Aurangzeb, Vol. IV, P.164.

1. Ibid, PP.168-171. (B.S.436).
2. Elliot and Dowson, History of India, VII, P.309.

Malir in Baglana which had been held for some time by the Marathas. Prince Muazzam penetrated into Konkan ..... laid waste in all directions ...."[1] But he was soon recalled. Here also Khafi Khan makes no mention of prince Muazzam invading the Mysore territory where Maratha interest was dominant. Therefore it is clear that the Mlenchha referred to was Dilir Khan.

The next point for consideration is from what date Sambhaji had been ruling at Chikkaballapura and during which month the battle really took place between Dilir Khan and Sambhaji.

According to Sabhasad, Sambhaji was not present by the side of his father at the time of the latter's death.[2] It is known that in A.D.1668 Sambhaji was appointed commander of 5,000 horse and sent to Berar. Sabhasad says for two years a Maratha contingent of one thousand horse under Pratap Rao Gujar, lived in Berar "feeding themselves at the expense of the Moghal dominion".[3] But as soon as he heard of his father's death, as Khafi Khan relates, he proceeded to his country: "When Sivaji was dead his wretched son Sambha desired to surpass his father. He raised the standard of rebellion and on 15th February, 1680, he attacked Kakar Khan Afghan, who acted as the Collector of Jizya, under Khan Zaman, the Subhedar of the Dakhin. Sambha was returning with nearly 20,000 men from a plundering expedition in Berar. He made a forced march .... and

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1. Ibid, P.311,
2. Sabhasad, op.cit, P.89, Sen, op.cit., P.149.
3. Ibid.

made his attack, while his victims were entirely ignorant of his approach. Thus he fell upon Bahadurpur".[1] But owing to a misunderstanding, the Mughal general failed to attack Sambhaji, who, evading the Mughals, went to Salir (Saller) in Baglan".[2] From this account of Khafi Khan it is clear that until the 15th Feb. 1680, Sambhaji was not in Chikkaballapura and that he must have arrived at this place probably towards the end of this month. An English letter written from the Bombay council to Surat, on 28th April 1680 says "we have certain news that Shivaji Rajah is

> dead, it is now 23 days since he diseased ...... Sambhaji Rajah is at Panhala".[3]

Therefore it is evident that the driving away of the Mlenchha as is mentioned in the inscription must have taken place between February and April of 1680 and that Sambhaji was in Chikkaballapura from the end of February upto the 3rd week of April 1680.

The date given in the epigraph falls on 21st July 1680.[4] Relying on this calculated date, we can not certainly say that Sambhaji continued to be in Chikkaballapura from the end of February to 21st July 1680, for as already pointed out we have got the Factory record which says that by 28th April 1680 Sambhaji was at Panhala. Further Jedhe Sakavali says that "on 18th June 1680, Sambhaji entered Raigad, assumed powers and imprisoned Rajaram; and on

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1. Elliot and Dowson: History of India as told by her own Historians, Vol.VII, P.306.
2. Ibid, P.307.
3. Sarkar: House of Shivaji, P.216.
4. Sakabda Sahasram dvi-tri-Sata-dve-varshe Raudra Sravana-Suddh, Shashthyam, Budhe Cha Vare.

20th July 1680 ascended the throne".[1] Therefore what we can infer from the above statements is that while Sambhaji was seated on the throne of Raygad peacefully, he ordered his officer in the Karnatak to issue the inscription in his name on the 21st July 1680. Therefore the inscription is dated 21st July 1680.

Now we shall examine whether the statements regarding Maratha officers mentioned in the epigraph are correct. The epigraph says that Balaji Krishna who was in charge of Jagadeva hill forts, in pursuance of Raghunath Pandita's orders, took over the command of the fort of Chikkaballapura itself. This statement is amply corroborated by Sabhasad who says that after defeating Venkoji with the assistance of Hambir Rao, Raghunath Pant, dismissed him and sent him over to his master Shivaji. Then "Raghunath Pant himself, on that side, raised an army of 10,000 horse, Paga and Silledar in the Karnatak and lived there and maintained the kingdom.[2] The flight of Ekoji took place in July 1677[3] and Shivaji must have occupied this region in the same year.[4] Therefore it is evident that Balaji Krishna took charge of the fort of Chikkaballapura in obedience to the orders of Raghunatha Narayan who was placed in charge of Karnatak by Shivaji.

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1. Shivaji Souvenir, P.25.
2. Sabhasad, op.cit. P.76; Sen, op.cit, pp.128-129.
3. Sardesai: N.H.M. Vol.I, pp.237-238; Sarkar: Shivaji and His Times, pp. 304-305.
4. Shivaji and His Times, pp.311-312 (By Sarkar).

Reign of Sambhaji, 1680-1682.

Sambhaji arrived in Maharashtra only in June 1680, two months after the passing away of his father, Shivaji. His fondness for wine and flesh, his indulgence in loose talks and low tastes had shattered all the high hopes that Shivaji entertained about him. The last days of Shivaji were filled with gloom and anxiety. Court-intrigues, question of succession and jealousy and rivalry among the Generals, - all combined to hasten his early death.[1]

Soyara Bai, the eldest surviving wife of Shivaji, taking advantage of the confusing situation at court as well as the absence of Sambhaji had resolved to put her son, Rajaram on the throne. Rajaram was then, a lad of 10 years, having been born on 24th Feb. 1670.[2] Soyara Bai, with her persuasive tongue convinced most of her late husband's advisers and nobles, who gathered in the court, of the possible danger to her State and community of allowing Sambhaji to succeed to the throne. By holding out prospects of booty and honour to them, she proceeded to work out her plan. On 8th April 1680, three days after the death of her husband, Soyara Bai proclaimed her son Rajaram as king at Raigarh.[4] The leaders in general,

1. Sarkar: Aurangzeb, Vol.IV, P.239.
2. Jedhe Sakavali - Shivaji Souvenir, P.17, Kincaid and Parasnis (A.H.M.P., P.115) say that Rajaram was 19 years of age at the time of crowning which needs revision. Sarkar (Aurangzeb, IV, P.240) says that Rajaram was aged 18 years. This also needs revision.
3. Kincaid and Parasnis: A.H.M.P., P.115; Sardesai: N.H.M., Vol.I. P.293; Sarkar: Aurangzeb, Vol.IV, P.239.
4. Sarkar: Aurangzeb, Vol.IV, P.240.

the army in particular were never consulted; it was the work of only a small group. In fact the Maratha army which strove hard for the glory of Maharashtra received nothing at this change of masters. Naturally they looked upto Sambhaji who was ripe with experelence both in the art of government and guerilla warfare.

In the meanwhile as soon as Sambhaji heard the news of the death of his father, he proceeded with rapid speed from Chikkaballapura to Maharashtra. On his way Sambhaji halted at Panhala for some time. Having come to know of his arrival, several disappointed soldiers proceeded to Panhala to lend their support to the prince. An English letter written from Rajapore to Surat dated 19th April 1680 says:

> "Sambhuji Rajah has taken up his quarters at Panhala, where goes daily to him abundance of soldiers".[1]

On 21st April 1680 Anaji Pant arresed Sambhaji at Panhala and put him in prison,[2] probably at the instance of Soyara Bai. Shortly afterwards, Sambhaji killed the Killedar, took possession of Panhala and prepared for a march on Raigad.[3]

The letter of 27th April 1680 informs us that

> "Sambhaji has taken upon himself to govern and title of king".[4]

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1. English Records on Shivaji, Vol.II, pp.310-311; Sarkar: House of Shivaji, P.216.
2. Shivaji Souvenir, P.25.
3. Sardesai: N.H.M., Vol.I, P.293.
4. English Records on Shivaji, Vol.II, P.311; Sarkar: House of Shivaji, P.217.

Sambhaji with a well-disciplined army of 20,000 men, marched on Raigarh and meeting with no opposition, he took possession of it on the 18th June 1680.[1]

E.I. Company letter of 26th June informs us that

> "he (Sambhaji) being now gone for Rairy".[2]

Having gone to Rairi, he took easy possession of it for Rajaram meekly submitted to him as he had no capacity to face his brother in an open battle. A Government may be rich in resources, but what is the use of it if it is not held by a mighty, powerful and resourceful prince?

Shambhaji seems to have inaugurated his reign in an happy manner and with great promises. The English letter of 12th July 1680 written from Bombay to Surat says:

> "Sambagee Rajah is now at Rairy; his young brother, he used with all kindness and continues as yet soe to doe Annajee Pundit ..... is alive but in great trouble and laden with chains ...... Sambagee declared publicly Rajah; he hath an army of 20,000 men now together, what he designs them is not knowne; report speakes of him very diligent and careful".[3]

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1. Shivaji Souvenir, P.25.
2. English Records on Shivaji Vol.II, P.314.
3. Ibid., Vol.II, P.314; House of Shivaji, P.218.

Bloody beginning of Sambhaji's reign: Sambhaji, short-tempered and short-sighted never understood the utility of winning love and confidence of his near and dear relatives, courtiers and outsiders which were absolutely essential during those troubled months. On the contrary he invited enmity and hatred from all sides by his intolerant behaviour which sealed his doom within so short a period of ten years. Entering the private apartment of Soyarabai he rebuked her in all abusive tongue charging her having poisoned the late king, in order to secure the throne for her son. On this pretence of guilt he inflicted a most horrible punishment. Two hundred Maratha ladies who supported Soyarabai were beheaded. Other nobles suspected of participation were beheaded and their houses and property were thrown open to plunder by the soldiery. After thwarting all those who opposed him, he made his way safe for the coronation ceremony.[1]

He formally ascended the throne on 20th July 1680.[2] Then the coronation ceremony was performed with due splendour on 16th January 1681.[3]

Sambhaji did not begin his reign in a happy augury for thousands of schemes were planned and consequently thousands of troubles arose.

Report of 20th Aug. 1680 says: "Sambhaji Rajah intends,

> after the rains, to give Bahadur Khan (Subahdar of Mughal Deccan) battle in open field and has sent him word as much".[4]

1. Kinciad and Parasnis: A.H.M.P., P.117; Sarkar: Aurangzeb, Vol.IV. P.243. Sardesai: N.H.M. Vol.I, P. 300.
2. Shivaji Souvenir, P.25.
3. Ibid, P.26 - Magh Shukla 7. Raudra S. 1602.

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10th Nov.1680. "We are alarmed of Maratha forces being abroad. A party of horse and foot is reported to be marching towards Surat, another against Burhanpur, a third to keep Bahadur Khan in play".[1]

Condition of Karnataka on the eve of Sambhaji's coronation:- The news of the death of Shivaji administered a severe shock to most of the officers appointed to govern the conquered territories in Karnataka. Whether to continue in their own positions as ordered by Shivaji or recede from the service of this successor was the knotty and mighty problem that perplexed their minds.

> Martin writes "The news of his (Shivaji's) death created a great confusion among the chief officers in these parts (i.e. the province of Jinji or eastern Karnatak). Some of them seemed to desire to stay in their governments and render themselves independent".[2]

Though the officers of Karnataka recognised Sambhaji as their king, they were not free from doubts and fears on hearing the news that several principal officers of Maharashtra including Janardana Pandit were arrested and put in chains. According to the orders of Sambhaji, Raghunatha Narayan, the Governor of Gingee

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4. Sarkar: House of Shivaji, P.218, English Records on Shivaji, Vol.I, P.315.
1. Sarkar: House of Shivaji, P.218; English Records on Shivaji, Vol.II, P.319.
2. Sarkar: House of Shivaji, P.219.

was arrested and put in prison in the last week of July 1680.[1]

The Madras Diary of 1681 had recorded that Raghunatha Narayan was seized and put in irons by Santaji, a younger brother of Sivaji, on hearing a false rumour that Sambhaji was dead. Sambhaji sent his brother-in-law,[2] Harji Mahadik with Shamji Nayak Punde as his diplomatic adviser, to take charge of Gingee.

> Jedhe Sakavali says: "Sambhaji sent Harji Raje Mahadik and Shamji Nayak with Jaitaji Katkar and Baji Kande to Karnatik with troops."

Shamji Nayak did not enjoy his position for long, for he was suspected of treason and imprisoned in Karnataka.[3]

Assumption of royal authority in Maharashtra by Sambhaji, his arrest and imprisonment of several principal officers of the State; his new appointments of his own men in Karnataka and the arrest of Shamji Nayak on suspicion of treason in Karnataka - all threw the whole atomosphere of Karnataka into great chaos and confusion. This led many of the adventurous Marathas as well as the Hindu chieftains of the south to seek out their own advantages.

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1. Sarkar: House of Shivaji, pp.219-220; Shivaji Souvenir, P.26. According to Jedhe Chronology, the event should have taken place after the accession of Sambhaji and before Aug.1680. Therefore it must have taken place in the last week of July 1680 not early in 1681 as has been assumed by C.S.Srinivasachari in his work, "History of Gingee and its rulers", P.237. Again Sarkar (House of Shivaji, P.223) assigns December 1680 to the arrest of Raghunath Narayan by Sambhaji which is wrong in the light of Jedhe Sakavali.
2. Ambika Bai, daughter of Shivaji by his first wife, was married to Harji Mahadik & she was the full sister of Sambhaji.
3. Shivaji Souvenir, P.26; A letter of Fort St.George dated 20th Sept. 1681-82.

Ekoji, after the death of Shivaji, had completely repudiated the suzerainty of the Maratha king and as a subordinate officer of Sikandar, he had despatched forces to assist him during the siege of Bijapur.[1] Further he and his son, Shahji II, had determined to appropriate as much territory as possible not only from the Nayak of Madura but from Shivaji's conquests in Karnataka as well. In undertaking this venture, he had not forgotten to tighten his grip over his own important possessions such as Bangalore, Kolar, Sira and several other places in the kingdom of Mysore. Proximity of Chikkadevaraja to the Maratha possessions in Mysore had been a night-mare to Ekoji who seems to have realized the wisdom of disposing off Bangalore to the highest bidder in the event his capacity proved a failure in holding the city which had been a focal point of attraction from various points of view to several powers of the South and the North.

Mysore which was coming into great prominence under the mighty ruler, Chikkadevaraja was always keeping an eye on the Maratha colonies of the south. Mysore came closer during the unhappy days of Sambhaji than that of Shivaji. The sound of the war-drum of Mysore would reverberate in Maharashtra and vice versa. By 1680 Chikkadevaraja had conquered a number of impregnable hill-forts and brought the sphere of influence of Mysore practically coterminous with Shahji's possession of Sira in the Karnataka-Bijapur-Balaghat.[2] Chikkadevaraja was at the height of his power.

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1. Kincaid and Parasnis: A.H.M.P., P.141.
2. Wilks: History of Mysore, I, P.106.

Taking advantage of the political confusion that followed the accession of Sambhaji, Chikkadevaraja projected a campaign of conquest; and the target of attack was first aimed at Ikkeri whose ruler was Channammaji, a woman of great abilities and talents. Her political dealings with Sambhaji and the Sultan of Golkonda,[1] perhaps to recover some of her territories lost to Mysore, had irritated Chikkadevaraja. The latter despatched a huge army under the generalship of Kumaraiya, who by forced marches, came and encamped at Vasudhare. In the middle of 1680 a bloody battle was fought between the two armies of Ikkeri and Mysore in which the latter were completely defeated. The might of Kumaraiya was crushed; the army suffered heavily in dead and wounded and Vasudhare and other fortified territories were taken possession of by Channammaji.[2]

From 1680-1681[3] Channammaji, as a step against the further encroachments of the Mysore ruler, took possession of Kadur, Banavara, Hassan and Belur[4] and took precautionary measures to guard the southern frontiers.

In spite of this reverse, Chikkadevaraja was not disheartened.

Mysore and Maharashtra meet at Trichinopoly 1682.

Chikkadeva Raja who assumed the great title of 'Apratima Vira' by vanquishing no less a daring invader and adventurer than Shivaji

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1. K.D.Swaminathan: Nayaks of Ikkeri, P.119.
2. Ke.N.V., IX, P.133, Vs.8, 9, 10.
   V.9: Māyavādigalurudala Vazi Kumaraiyanadatanudugisi balamam Nōyisi Vasudhāreya Kama Niya paristharanamam Karam Vashageydal.
   See also Keladi samsthānada Rāyara Vamsāvali P.54.
3. Ke.N.V., IX, P.134; V.13 and F.N. 1 and 2.
4. Ibid, Vs.13-14; Ke.Sam.Ray. Vam., pp.54-55.

in the neighbourhood of Srirangapatna had to sustain a great discomfiture at the hands of a woman-ruler of Ikkeri. Deeply foiled in his project, Chikkadevaraja resolved to try his luck in the direction of the South which was to him a place of great interest to display his war-like genius. Ekojis' repudiation of[1] the suzerainty of the Maratha king in preference to that of a Sultan and the acquisitions of his (Shivaji's) conquests one after another forgetting the 19 clauses of his brother might have probably led the ruler of Mysore to attempt similar conquests in the South.[2]

Importance of Trichinopoly. Trichinopoly was the target aimed at by Chikkadevaraja towards the end of 1681, but this place was of great importance and anxiety to several powers involved in the affairs of the South. Madura was ever on the guard in Trichinopoly to prevent any possible attack from outside; Harji Mahadik had established his authority safely over the Gingee kingdom and was taking keen interest on the shifting politics of the south; Mysore being frustrated in its designs by putting its hand in the affairs of Ikkeri, stretched its arms towards Trichinopoly to grab at anything available to it; Ekoji had already opened his campaign of conquests and had been waiting to take up any side if it were to gratify his ambition for 'land'.

The object of the Expedition to Trichinopoly. The main object with which Chikkadevaraja set out on his expedition to Trichinopoly

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1. Kincaid and Parasnis: A.H.M.P., P.141.
2. C.Hayavadana Rao: History of Mysore Vol.I, P.291 says that Chikkadevaraja was requested by Madura Nayak to repudiate the rule of usurper-commander in Madura is not based on fact. It is only a guess work.

was to gain in the Madura kingdom what he had lost in the Bednore kingdom. Wilks says:

> "Thus relieved from the hostility on the west his increasing power and resources encouraged him ..... to turn again his attention to the South East and to plan the conquest of the dominions of the Nayak of Madura."[1]

<u>Kumaraiya defeats Madura army</u>: Dalavay Kumaraiya was despatched with a big army, who soon arrived by forced marches and invested the fort of Trichinopoly,[2] which became the battle ground for several ambitious powers. It was a matter of serious concern and alarm to Madura. The usurper-commander namely Rustam Khan who seized the authority of the ruler of Madura for himself, although Chokkalinga was there on the throne for name-sake, was greatly confused and confounded at the developing situation in Trichinopoly, the part and parcel of Madura. Supported by his cavalry, he delivered an attack on the encamping army of Mysore which repulsed him ignominiously. At last he hastened to the capital where he was murdered. The Jesuit letter says that Rustam Khan's inability to conduct the defence powerfully & effectively led to a plot which brought his end.

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1. History of Mysore Vol.I, pp.114-115. The date he assigns to this event is not acceptable in the light of Jesuit letters which affix the event correctly to the early part of Chikkadeva's reign.
2. Annals I, P.113 says that Kumaraiya and other reputed generals went there at the head of a big army only to exact the arrears of contribution from the Madura ruler due since (1667-1668): Mys.Raj.Cha. 28.

The Jesuit letter of 1682 says:

> "Kumara Raya (Dalavai Kumaraiya) the Mysore general attacked Trichinopoly with a strong army; the commander of the place (Rustam Khan), enticed by the enemy made an imprudent sally, fell into an ambuscade and lost nearly all his cavalry in it when he returned to the citadel, Sokkalinga helped by his devoted friends, fell on him and massacred him with the Muhammadans who accompanied him".[1]

The formation of a confederacy: The shamefaced withdrawal of Rustam Khan from the field of action and his subsequent assassination at Madura had created new hopes and aspirations and restored confidence in Dalvai Kumaraiya hoping to take the defenceless Trichinopoly into his hand without meeting any opposition nearby. But misfortune attacked him heavily that his visions, expectations, hopes and aspiration were dashed to the ground with the arrival of Harji Mahadik and Ekoji in Trichinopoly to aid Chokkanath who was engrossed in life and death struggle against the Mysore General. The formation of this formidable confederacy consisting of Ekoji of Tanjore, Harji Mahadik of Gingee & Maravas against the Mysore General was a significant event in the history of Mysore-Maratha relations in sixteen eightees.

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1. Nayaks of Madura, P.286.

Jedhe Sakhavali says: "Haraji Mahadik, Jaitaji Katkar and Dadaji Kakade had been in Karnatik to help Trichinopoly where they came in conflict with the forces of Shrirangapatan".[1]

The Jesuit letter of 1682 says:

> "Delivered from the domestic enemy, the Nayak found himself surrounded by four large armies, the first was that of Kumara Raya who besieged him; the second that of the Maravas, who came on the pretext of defending their sovereign but whose object was to get their share of pillage; the third was that of Arasumalai, general of Sambogi; the fourth that of Ekoji. The two latter pretended to help the Nayak who had called them; but their real motive was to repulse the army of Mysore "whose proximity they feared".[2]

There was strong reasons for Harji Mahadik to support Chokkanatha. Soon after the assumption of his office as the Governor of Gingee in March 1681, Harji Mahadik along with Dadaji and Jaitaji started his adventerous career in seizing territories belonging to Mysore and Madura. Before the investment of Trichinopoly, a band of Marathas under the able leadership of Harji, Dadaji and Jaitaji had laid siege to the fort of Dharmapuri (in the east of Mysore)Salem Di for a period of eight months. The Mysoreans proceeding rapidly to

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1. Shivaji Souvenir, P.27.
2. Nayaks of Madura, pp.286-287; see also P.182. Satyanath Aiyar assigns 1680 to be the possible date of the Mysorean siege of Trichinopoly (Ibid, P.181): J.Sarkar refers the siege in March 1683 (Aurangzeb, V, P.53); S.K.Aiyangar (Sources P.312 F.N.) on the basis of Mackenzie manuscript refers the siege of

(continued)

the scene of action, taught them the lessons at the tip of the sword; and consequently the Marathas fled terror-stricken taking their stand ultimately in Samyaminipattanam[1] (Southern Dharmapuri). Since then Harji Mahadik started hostility towards Mysore. Paradoxically where ever Mysore came into collision with its neighbouring powers, Harji Mahadik, seizing that opportunity tried to give his own arms against Mysore loyally supporting its enemy.

Likewise no sooner the appeal was made by the Nayak to Harji Mahadik for military aid against Mysore than he appeared at the head of an army. Ekoji too followed in the foot steps of Harji. Thus all the Marathas stood united with Chokkanath before the walls of Trichinopoly against Mysore.

Kumaraiya sued for peace: Stunned at the unexpected and unnatural combination of the Marathas, Kumaraiya felt the futility of encountering the gigantic forces with inadequate resources and troops inferior in number; and therefore he tried diplomacy in order to overcome the danger hanging over him.

The Jesuit letter says: "Kumara Raya, realizing that it was

> impossible for him to resist such armies with troops so inferior in number, offered peace to the Nayak

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from previous page)
Trichinopoly by Kumaraiya along with Shivaji and Ekoji and Kumaraiya's defeat and retreat to Mysore at the hands of Shivaji. This is utter false. The above stated sources require revision. Jedhe Sakhavali makes mention of the siege of Trichinopoly as having taken place in chaitra. Saka 1604 Dundubhi 1682. The Jesuit letters (Nayaks. 286-280) seem to echo that the siege took place subsequent to March 1682. Therefore it is definite that the siege took place in the early months of 1682.

1. A.V.C., III, 97 and Sachch, Nr., I.59.

> promising to preserve his kingdom for him and reestablish the successors of the ancient Nayaks of Tanjore and Gingee".[1]

Revival of the rule of the Nayaks of Gingee and Tanjore by expelling the Marathas and respect for the territorial integrity of Madura - these promises of Kumaraiya were disbelieved by Chokkanatha whose suspicion about everything good or bad was already well-known. As is the dictum "suspicion haunts the guilty mind", the guilty mind of Chokkanatha suspected the good faith of Kumaraiya.

<u>Chokkanatha - the idle spectator</u>: If Chokkanatha had cared for his country's freedom, the better course would have been to cement the alliance with Kumaraiya who had voluntarily come forward offering a friendly help and to make an united front to uproot the rule of the Marathas. But unluckily the chance was missed. Chokkanatha liked to remain an idle and unconcerned spectator when time demanded of him statecraft, diplomacy and activity. His supine nature provided food for the adventurers to swallow. Harji Mahadik gratified his ambition by devouring as much territories as possible in the South.

The Jesuit letter of 1682 says:

> "Undoubtedly the wisest course would have been to make a league with the king of Mysore to chase the Marathas".[2]

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1. Nayaks of Madura, P.287.
2. Ibid.

Kumaraiya opened negotiations with Harji: When such was the attitude of Chokkanath, how could he overcome the calamity in which he and his followers were involved? Diplomatic Kumaraiya next, opened negotiations with Harji Mahadik, the general of Sambhaji, agreeing to pay large amount of money in the event of his withdrawal to Gingee without causing any damage to the main ranks of his army.

He made overtures with the object of gaining time for Chikkadevaraja of Mysore to send the reinforcements which was sought for. But unfortumately the letters of request fell into the hands of the enemy who worked out the doom of the general as speedily as possible by withholding the letter.[1]

Maratha invasion of Srirangapatna 1682: Harji Mahadik, wiser than Kumaraiya understood the critical situation and anxiety revealed by the latter and couragiously conceived a grand project of seizing Srirangapatna itself loosing no firm hold and grip over the general at Trichinopoly. Accordingly he despatched Dadaji Kakade, Jaitaji Katkar, Nimbalkar and others at the head of a well-equipped cavalry with definite instructions to attempt the conquest of Srirangapatna,[2] which was then defenceless since the entire Mysore army was at Trichinopoly. Dadaji, Jaitaji and Jasavanta, the three Maratha generals were the commandants under Ekoji stationed in different

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1. Nayaks of Madura, P.283.
2. Jedhe Sakhavali (Shivaji Souvenir, P.27) mentions that "Jaitaji Katkar, Dadaji Kakade had been in Karnatik to help Trichinopoly" against the Mysoreans. Therefore they were definitely sent by Harji Mahadik from Trichinopoly to conquer Srirangapatna and there was no separate invasion of city by the Maratha officers as has believed by Wilks (Mysore I, P.59).

quarters of Karnatak. This can be proved by the writings of one of the court-poet's of Chikkadeva by name Tirumalya (1645-1706).[1] This well-known author in his monumental work Apratima Vira Charitra writes that Ekoji placed Esvanta Rao (i.e. Jasavanta) over Posavuru (Hosavuru or Hosuru) while at Dharmapuri were stationed Haraji, Jaitaji and Dadaji.[2] These leaders proceeded with forced marches arrogating themselves that no one would surpass them in the battle.[3]

Making sudden dash into the country they encamped near Kothathi and Kasalagere[4] in the neighbourhood of Srirangapatna. Overrun by these Maratha leaders the whole country was plunged into chaos and confusion.[5] Chikkadevaraja was taken by utter surprise as soon as the news of their encampment very close to his capital was communicated to him. The Raja immediately sent an order to his Dalavai at Trichinopoly to send back a great portion of the army through Kaveripuram Ghat under Doddaiya[6] and other generals so as to relieve the country from the impending danger.

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1. Karnataka Kavi Charitre, II, P.461.
2. Apratima Vira Charitam, pp. 75, 83.
3. A.V.C., III, P.92, stan, 133.
4. Kothathi and Kasalagere are extant villages in Mandya Taluk. For these villages see M.A.R., 1942, P.90. C.Hayavadana Rao says Honnalagere as the other place of encampment. This is wrong. It is Kasalagere - see M.A.R., 1942, P.90, Mys.Dho. Pur.Vam. Vi P.22. categorically mentions the places as Kothathi and Kasalagere.
5. A.V.C. IV, 8; Sachch Nir., I, 59; Annals, I, 114; Mys. Raj. Cha. I Chapter.
6. Annals, I Chapter says that he was the son, Wilks I, P.60 calls him the son of Kumaraiya, but Hayavadana Rao thinks that he was the nephew of Kumaraiya (I, P.296 F.N.96). Really he was the son of Kumaraiya. This is supported by the dynasty of Kalale - see M.A.R. 1942, P.90.

Kumaraiya was not able to take the generalship of the returning-army as he had taken a vow not to appear before the Raja without effecting the conquest of Trichinopoly. Doddaiya[1] was placed at the head of the army with instructions to proceed as speedily as possible so as to be in time to the defence of the country. Marching day and night through the Kaveripuram Ghat with all his rapidity, Doddaiya arrived in Srirangapatna right in time. The miraculous feats performed by Doddaiya in defeating the enemy was very well sketched by Wilks.[2]

Under a special instruction from Chikkadevaraja Doddaiya made a night attack on the camps of the Marathas and scared them by means of the illumination of torches fastened to the horns of the oxen. The Marathas were terror-stricken at the approach of the animals on all directions. Unable to cope with the situation, the Marathas began to run away in utter panic. A bloody battle was fought in which the Marathas were put to utter rout amidst great loss in their ranks.[3]

The number of oxen to whose horns lighted torches were tied and let loose in different direction so as to create confusion in the enemy's rank was estimated from two to three thousand.[4]

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1. See Annals I, 114-115 for a graphic account of the war and the strategen played by Dalavai Doddaiah on this occasion.
2. History of Mysore, Vol.I, pp.116-117.
3. Wilks, History of Mysore Vol.I, pp.116-117. Virarajendra's Sakala Vaidya Samhita Sararnava, see preface.
4. Annals, I, P.114.

By this distinct victory, a large and valuable booty was secured. The three important and powerful Maratha leaders were captured and their heads were cut off. Many of their followers fell in the battle field. The battle ended in the capture of the whole of their ordance, baggage and military stores of every description and disorder and flight of the remnant of their army. On the following day, Doddaiya and others keeping strict watch on the valuable articles still on the battle field, proceeded to the open Durbar of the king and presented in the same military manner in which they fought the enemy the previous day, bathing in the blood of the enemies the two heads of the leaders. The king got the two heads hung on the fort walls of Srirangapatna. The remnant of the Maratha force escaped stealthily to their capital and reported to to the king in detail all that happened.[1]

The Epigraphic record of 1686 says in a highly flowery language the exploit made by Chikkadeva Raja:

> Rāmātmanā yad ajayat khara Dūshaṇādyam
>
> rakshasa kulam tad upklripta Marāṭa varshman
>
> Dhānōji Jaitaji mukham nanu panchavaṭyah
>
> prātam nihanti saharis' Chik Dēva mūrtiḥ ....
>
> ....
>
> Dādōjibhidi Jaitajī ... sarvānga - nāsā chiḍi
>
> S'rī vīrē chikadēvarāja nṛipatam yuddhaya badhādarē

1. Annals, I, P.115; Wilks, I, PP.115-117; M.A.R., 1942, P.90; Mys.Raj.Cha.I.Ch; Mbh Santi., Sachchu. Ni., I, 59-61; A.V.C., I,22-23, II, 11, 12, 14, 19-20, III, 5, 34, 56, 57, 59, 73, 86, 133, 180, 183-184, IV, 4, 8; C.B., P.2, stan 6 and pp.4, 58; Gi.Go., P.63, stan.12, pp.38, 69; Sakala-Vaid.Sam., pp.2-4; E.C., III(1) Sr.14(1686), ll. 65-67, 69-70; Mys.Dis.Suppl.Vol., Mys.115 (C 1686-1690), ll. 86-88, 90-92; III (1) Sr.64(1722) ll. 75-76, - (These sources explain the details of the exploit); Mys.Dho.Pur. Viv., P.22; M.A.R., 1935; P.136.

This exploit of Chikkadevaraja was deservedly treated in an epic grandeur. "As formerly Hari, incarnate as Rama, subdued (there) Khara, Dushana and other giants, so (now) did he, incarnate as Chikka Deva, subdue in Panchavati, Dadoji, Jaitaji and others in the form of Maratas. Having slain Dadoji, having cut off all the limbs and slit the noses of Jaitaji, Chikkadeva set forth for war".[1]

Apratima Vira Charita explains vividly the defeat of the Maratha generals by Chikkadevaraja:

> "As Chikkadevaraja had exterminated Jaitaji,
> Dadaji and other reputed Maratha generals,
> he came to be respected as the complete
> incarnation of Narayana on earth".[2]

<u>Results</u>: The victory over a formidable foe who were held in mortal dread was a great triumph for the Raja whose prestige and name as a powerful ruler spread far and wide. The court poets sang his deeds of chivalry and glorified his name in verses of great laudation.

Doddaiya's efforts in slaughtering the Maratha Generals

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1. E.C. III (1), Sr.14 (1686). This epigraph gives out the event as having taken place in 1686. But on making comparative study of various sources available, I was made to understand that the event happened in 1682 found expression in 1686 in the inscription.
2. A.V.C., III, P.30. stanza 5.

and striking a note of warning to the remnant of the Maratha force which took flight to its master resolving not to turn back to see Mysore, were crowned with success. In an open Durbar Chikkadevaraja received the General warmly and respected greatly and rewarded him amply.[1]

This was a sensational news not only to the Marathas in the south and north of Mysore but to the Moghal Emperor who had set an eye on the conquest of South. Aurangzeb was very much delighted to hear the news.[2] It broke the back-bone of Sambhaji who vigorously started his career of conquest.

The result of this expedition seems to be that in the relations between Mysore and Maharashtra, the gulf was further widened and induced the Maratha leaders to adopt retaliatory measures much more severe, suicidal than ever before against Mysore.

Defeat of Kumaraiya at Trichinopoly: Harji Mahadik seems to have contemplated with complacency that the Maratha detachment sent under the able Generals of Dadaji, Jaitaji and Nimbalkar would crown its efforts with success in seizing the capital of Mysore.

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1. M.A.R. 1942, P.90. For Doddaiya's career see M.A.R.,1935, pp.135-136.
2. Ibid, P.90. Here we find an account of family tradition relating the anxiety on the part of Aurangzeb to bring about the marriage between his daughter and Doddaiya. It states since Aurangzeb had taken an oath to the effect that his daughter should marry no other than the person who killed those warriors, he himself came down as far as the Krishna. But he could not proceed further since the signs were inauspicious. He requested Chikkadeva to send Doddaiya to Delhi but the Raja said that the Dalavoy was dead. Then he married his daughter to the sword sent by Chikkadeva. - M.A.R., 1942, pp.90-91.

But the reports of the remnant of the Maratha force that sustained disgraceful defeat at Srirangapatna had tumbled down to the ground all the gorgeous palace built by Harji in the air.

This led Harji to adopt more violent and brutal methods in dealing with Kumaraiya of Mysore who had been entangled in hopeless embarrassment, receiving no reinforcement from Mysore to prosecute the war against the Marathas at Trichinopoly. Kumaraiya realising his distressing position, hatched a plan in such a manner as to take flight to Mysore unnoticed, unperceived by the Marathas. But the whole plan became topsyturvy.

The Jesuit letter of 1682 says:

> "Receiving neither reinforcements nor reply to his letters, Kumara Raya was obliged to seek safety in honourable retreat. He ordered the cavalry corps to feign a movement to attract the attention of the enemies, to engage them as long as possible and then flee with full speed towards Mysore; while he himself would take advantage of this diversion to escape, with his infantry, in an opposite direction and thus save his army. But the Mahrathas would not allow themselves to be put on the ~~wrong on the~~ wrong scent; for a long time past their self-conceit and audacity had been increasing by the inaction of Kumara Raya which revealed to them his weakness and their strength; they kept close to his army and none of his actions could escape them".[1]

1. Nayaks of Madura, P.288.

When the army of Mysore feigned movement, according to the orders of Kumaraiya, the Marathas kept on their guard and delivered an attack on the army which lost itself in confusion owing to the way in which the Marathas fell on them. It was a bloody battle in which merciless slaughters were incalculable. Besides, large number of Mysoreans became prisoners including Kumaraiya. Capturing innumerable riches, the Maratha General gratified his ambition of avenging the insult inflicted by Chikkadevaraja on the Maratha army at Srirangapatna, previous to this whole-sale butchery.[1]

Jedhe Sakavali says that the Marathas captured 200 horses and also a Commander Kumar of the army of Shrirangapatan.[2]

The Jesuit letter of 1682 says:

"Then they (Marathas) fell on the infantry, and the combat was only a horrible butchery; they found rich booty, the result of several years' pillage and made large number of prisoners among whom was Kumara Raya himself. The defeat and capture of this general, till then invincible, completed the joy and pride of Arasumalai".[3] Sarkar on the basis of persian source says: "In March 1683 Harji went with his army to help the Nayak of Trichinopoly in defeating an invasion by the chief of Seringapatam, in

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1. Nayaks of Madura, P.183.
2. Shivaji Souvenir, P.27.
3. Nayaks of Madura, P.288.

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which the Mysore General and 2000 horses were captured".[1]

When this General was conquered, the further tasks of dealing with the scattered army of Mysore were comparatively easy. Taking advantage of the brilliant victory, Harji smoothly and successfully secured the expulsion of the Mysoreans not only from Trichinopoly but also from various strong-holds which they had taken possession of from the spineless Nayak of Madura.[2]

<u>The two Generals compared</u>: Kumaraiya, Dalvoy of Chikkadevaraja of Mysore, Harji Mahadik, the Commander of Sambhaji, who elevated him very recently to the Governorship of Gingi are remarkable generals of the age. In tactics and cunning one excelled the other. If Kumaraiya believed that he was well-versed in military warfare, Harji showed the practical demonstration of his superiority in the field of action much more than the Mysore General. The two Generals were both army leaders and organizers of the highest ability courage and activity but with contrasted character. Harji had an inborn genius for handling large bodies of troops spread over a wide area changing his tactics so as to take prompt advantage of every change in the enemy's plans and condition and organising combined movements. The success of his tactics depended on the rapid movement of troops. He understood well the danger of delay and therefore taking advantage of the inactivity of the Mysore army,

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1. History of Aurangzeb, Vol.V, P.53, F.N. The event is dated March 1683 in this work but we have a Jesuit letter of 1682 narrating this event (Nayaks of Madura, P.288).

2. Nayaks of Madura, P.288.

he attacked the army from every direction without causing delay and crushed the entire army capturing the Dalvoy a prisoner. Above all to carry the war to a happy termination he had the support of a big army, well-equipped and well-disciplined in addition to the plentyful supply of provisions where as, the Mysore General was denied these advantages. Being called upon to despatch the major portion of the army for the defence of the capital against the Maratha marauders by Chikkadevaraja, the General, obedient to his orders did so retaining very small number much inferior compared to the army of the Marathas on the opposite direction. The letters of request for the help of reinforcements by his master at Mysore, unfortunately fell into the hands of his enemies who hastened to the speedy ruin of the General. Thus the fickle Goddess of Fortune deserted him. In spite of these disadvantages when he was engrossed in the hour of peril, he boldly, courageously projected a plan to effect an honourable retreat from that inauspicious place unnoticed, unperceived by the Maratha army but the whole plan was foredoomed to disappointment when an attack was delivered from the opposite direction.

Nevertheless, Kumaraiya made war like a true General. He dedicated his selfless service for the glory of Mysore, for the honour of Chikkadeva but misfortune dogged him and he became an easy prey to the Marathas.

Harji, on the other hand was an opportunist & disloyal to his master. He was, in comparison with Kumaraiya, unfaithful,

disloyal, selfish, barbarian devoid of culture or generosity, unable to restrain his passions or to take thought of distant future. The hour of his victory was the hour of gratification of his vindictiveness. Goddess of Fortune smiled on an worthless fellow, deserting a more deserving fellow.

Kumaraiya sought permission to retire: What had happened to Kumaraiya afterwards is not known as the Jesuit letter keeps silent on this point. But the Kannada Source reveals the request of Kumaraiya being made to the king to relieve him of his duties on the ground of old age.[1] Consequently he was relieved of his duties[2] having served the Raja from 1673 to 1682 and in his place was appointed Devaiah for a short period (May 27th to June 9, 1682) and later on was succeeded Doddaiah, the son of Kumaraiah (June 10, 1682 - June 11, 1690).

Results: The bloody war waged at Trichinopoly had left tremendous influence on the politics of South India and brought into distinctive light of history the two outstanding personalities whose fame and name reached even the ears of the Mughal Emperor, Aurangzeb.

Highly elated at the success at Trichinopoly against the Mysoreans, Harji Mahadik grew too haughty. He ruled the Eastern Karnatak with undivided power and practically as almost independent sovereign. Sarkar rightly says: "The Maratha king's absorption

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1. Annals, I, P.116.
2. Ibid, I, P.116; Mys.Dho.Pur., I. 68.

in vice, the baneful predominance of the favourite Kavi-Kalas in his Council, the consequent disorder of the kingdom and the increasing Mughal pressure on Maharashtra under the personal direction of Aurangzeb, all tended to extinguish Shambhuji's authority in the far-off province of Jinji and make a local viceroy his own master".[1] Not only that he gave out that he was the king and assumed the title of Maharaja showing failure to pay the surplus revenue to his sovereign at Raigarh.[2] Thus the victory made him announce to the world that he was the Maharaja of the Eastern Karnataka. Mysoreans were expelled from all the regions of the South and prevented from having a permanent foot-hold in the regions of Madura.[3]

Chikkadevaraja's victory over the Marathas near Srirangapatna appeared to counterbalance Kumaraiya's reverses at Trichinopoly. The horrible butchery perpetrated over the Maratha Generals in Mysore by Chikkadeva was a lesson to the other other Marathas to take note of.

The victory that Chikkadevaraja secured over the Marathas increased his fame and name far and wide and this event delighted the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb whose efforts in capturing these leaders proved fruitless while they made a surprise attack on his empire previous to their arrival in the Karnatak.[4] Secondly the fame of

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1. Sarkar: Aurangzeb, Vol.Vi, P.53; C.S.Srinivasachari: History of Gingee and its rulers, P.260.
2. Ibid.
3. Nayaks of Madura, P.288.
4. Annals, I. P.115; Mys. Ar.R., 1942, P.90.

Karnataka that was blackened owing to the incursions of the Marathas was brightened up at the hands of Chikkadevaraja.[1] "Oh" the Marathas cried, "Why did we come to the Kannadadesh without understanding their peculiar way of warfare"?[2] As they had roused the wrath of Chikkadeva, they had lost the chance of making their settlement in Mysore.[3] Chikkadevaraja converted his kingdom into a stage for the dance performance of the Goddess of Victory.[4] On the whole Chikkadevaraja established his sway over the Karnatak country as an undisputed sovereign.

<u>Conclusion</u>: Sambhaji, the son of Shivaji, having ruled the Maratha province of Mysore for some time, appointed his wife Jayita Bai to look after the province and went away to Maharashtra as he was required by his father Shivaji who had resolved to visit the Emperor, Aurangzeb at Delhi. In 1680 Sambhaji returned to his Karnataka province and stayed at Chikkaballapura with Nandi as his summer resort.

Consequent on the death of Shivaji in 1680, Sambhaji proceeded to Maharashtra from Chikkaballapura and ascended the throne in July 1680. Having restored peace and order in Maharashtra, Sambhaji turned his attention towards Karnataka. Harji Mahadik was

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1. A.V.C., III, V.136: Manda maratara duryasha dindam mige māsivanda Karnātakadā kandam kaledapratimam chandadolureyalpuvadisidam nijayashadim .
2. Ibid III, V. 139. Chikadēvarāyanam kenakidadarim tāmidēsha-dōliradantāythu
3. Ibid III, V.139.
4. Sakala-vaid, Sam, P.4.

appointed the Governor of Gingee.

Taking advantage of the absence of Sambhaji and the political confusion that followed the death of Shivaji, Chikkadevaraja of Mysore projected the campaign of conquest; and came into armed conflict with the Marathas at Trichinopoly. A great confederacy was formed by the Marathas against the Mysoreans. Kumaraiya, the Commander-in-Chief of the Mysore army was stunned at the unexpected combination of the Marathas and the Nayak of Madura; and as a result of which he gave up the hope of making headway in Trichinopoly. Taking advantage of the critical situation of Kumaraiya, Harji despatched his generals, namely Jaitaji, Dadaji and Nimbalkar to conquer the defenceless fort of Srirangapatna. These Maratha Generals came to Srirangapatna with rapid speed. Doddaiya arrived right in time from Trichinopoly according to the orders of Chikkadevaraja, defeated the Marathas at Kothathi and Kasalagere and cut off the heads of the Commandants of the Maratha army.

Having learnt the disaster at Srirangapatna, Harji adopted retaliatory measures, surrounded the Mysore army, and inflicted a crushing defeat at Trichinopoly capturing Kumaraiya a prisoner. Thus the victory that Chikkadevaraja secured at Srirangapatna over the Marathas was counter balanced by the reverses of Kumaraiya at Trichinopoly. These wars between the Marathas and Mysoreans had not only told heavily on their treasuries but on their political relations as well. The relationship went from bad to worse. The hopeless political situation arising out of these wars, brought Sambhaji to Mysore.

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CHAPTER XI.

Sambhaji's wars with Chikkadevaraja of Mysore.

Introduction:

There are periods in history which have acquired a distinctive character and tendency through the life and influence of certain outstanding individuals. The advent of Sambhaji in the Karnataka was such an event of great significance. The political framework of Mysore was affected greatly by the emergence of this Maratha General who lacked magnanimity and resourcefulness of his father. Sambhaji was puffed with overconfidence and lacked the farsightedness of his father; and the result of which was that his end was hastened within so short a period of nine years.

Among the many campaigns that fill the stormy reign of Sambhaji, his campaign against Mysore may rightly be assigned the pride of place. It was the third trial of strength between Mysore celebrated throughout South India for its prowess and the aggressive Maratha nation famed throughout India for their military skill and talents.

Influence of Kavi Kalasa: In determining the destiny of Sambhaji, the influence of Kavi Kalasa - Prince of Poets, who adorned the Maratha court could not be over-looked. Who this Kalasa was? Grant Duff,[1] J.N.Sarkar[2] and several other scholars on Maratha history have

1. History of the Mahrattas, Vol.I, pp.317-318.
2. Aurangzeb, Vol.IV, pp.253-254.

unhesitatingly accepted that Kalasa[1] was a great scholar won a great influence over the mind of the prince, and was the pivot of the entire Maratha administrative machinary. Further they say that Kalasa was deeply versed in Sanskrit theology, enjoyed the honour of a Pandit and was dignified to the title of Chandogamatya - expounder of the Vedas. Though these scholars give a long description of his qualifications, they do not specifically say who this Kavi Kalasa was. Sardesai, praising Kavi Kalasa as a scholar of deep learning and erudition says that,

> "popular tradition in Maharashtra charges Kalusha with having been the Emperor's spy, slyly trying to bring about Sambhaji's ruin. There is absolutely no proof to support such an allegation".[2]

But we have enough of historical proof to say that Kavi Kalasa was a spy employed by Aurangzeb to destroy Sambhaji. Keladi Nripa Vijaya says that "Aurangzeb being indignant at the attitude of Sambhaji had been planning to effect the capture of the prince dead or alive. Having realised that such a mighty and powerful Sambhaji would not submit to him unless he could resort to magic and incantation for his capture. Aurangzeb conceived a plan. Immediately Aurangzeb summoned to his presence a Kannoji Brahmin named Kabji and instructed secretly thus: "you go to Sambhaji and try to win him over by any means - fair or foul. Do not come here if you do not capture him dead or alive".

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1. He is often called by the name of Kub Kulus or Kablis Khan (See Grant Duff: H.M. Vol., P.317, F.N.) See also Hodiwala's Studies in Indo-Muslim History (1939), pp.655-656.

2. New History of the Marathas, Vol.I, pp.300-301.

Honouring the Brahmin with costly jewels and presents; and holding out promises of prospect of further booty and position, Aurangzeb despatched him from his Imperial headquarters "to Panhala".[1] From this we may gather that Kabji alias Kavi Kalas was deliberately employed by Aurangzeb as a spy to bring about the ruin of Sambhaji. This kannada account was fully supported by English writings. Edward Scott Waring says:

> "Aurangzeb found that he had little hope of subduing Sambhaji by open and honourable warfare. He resorted to other means; and .... his favourite Kuh Kulus or Cablis Khan ...... was selected by Aurangzeb as a fit instrument to execute his plan."[2]

Obedient to the orders of his master, Kavi Kalasa, a Kannoji Brahmin, arrived in Pannali and sent confidential officers to Sambhaji to say that a Shrotriya Brahmin, well versed in all sciences had come to Pannali; and by making this self-introduction, he interviewed Sambhaji and monopolisied his trust. By making an honourable entry into Sambhaji's heart at the very first sight,

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1. Ke.N.V. Chap. IX, P.158, Verses, 68, 69-70.
   <u>68</u>: Sambhāji Akhila mukhagalōl antavanupaṭaḷavanesage Thāmra-mukhādhīsam thavekeraḷdavana piḍidantika keydisuvupāya-mentenutirdam.
   <u>69</u>: Antendālōchisi Bala śāliyāgi varthisuthirpa Sambhāji Māya-tantravanoḍḍidallade tanage vaśanāganendu nischayisi baḷikkondupatyantaramam nenedu.
   <u>70</u>: Barisuttāgale Kabjināmakada Kannōji dvijādhīshanam Vara-sambhāji yanayde sārdavana nīnentādoḍam vaśagaydiradenna-llige Barpolagipudenuttē-kāntadōlmanadim toredisṭār-thavanittu biḷkoḍal.
2. History of the Mahrattas, P.117.

Kavi Kalasa gradually enlisted the love, affection and confidence of the Prince. Further he held out before the prince prompt promises of reducing all the powerful enemies around him by means of magic and incantation over the science of which he was a thorough master. By performance of hideous rites, charms, magic and incantation he possessed Sambhaji's mind. The fool-capped prince preferred the company of the bad to that of wise, experienced and important officers.[1] Thus Sambhaji grew extremely distrustful of his father's faithful servants. Not only that; he lost himself in loose talks and low tastes. Getting the subjection of the prince to his will, Kavi Kalasa made Sambhaji a thorough master of the whole debaucherous gang. In the midst of pretty virgins in succession, he entirely forgot the world with which he was mostly concerned.[2]

Maratha sources entirely agree with the account given in Kannada source.[3] "He (Kavi Kalaśa) plied Sambhaji with wine,

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1. Ke.N.V., IX, P.158, Verse 71: Intu Kabji pratināma Kavi Kaḷaśa nemba Kannōji Brāhmanam Pannāligaydi sarva vidya sampannanappa srōtrīya Brāhmananaythandirpanendu sampavarthi samājīkarim Sambhājigaruhisi Baḷikkātana bhētiyam kondu dinadinadōḷavangatiprīti pātranenisuvartisuthirdu samastha Śatrugaḷam ninage pādakrāntarāgi biḍadōlagipantu Japa puraścharana hōmangaḷam māḷpenendadavadisi ..... mantra ..... tantra ... nānā prayōgamukhadinda Sambhājirājanam vaśīkarisi ... buddhiśālingalappa samājīkara mātam kēlade ksudrajanarkaḷa bhēdadindoladutam.
2. Ibid, IX, Verse 72: Strīlōlanāgi Kabjiya Jālādōḷam silki Jāranijayakkelam Mūla guruvenisi tām Jala Kēḷiyanesaguttu mintu varthisutirdam.

3. Grant Duff: History of the Marattas, Vol.I, pp. 317-318.

bhang and opium ..... procured for him an endless succession of pretty and lascivious woman", say Kincaid and Parasnis.[1] In spite of Indian and Foreign traditions assivarating that Kalasa was the spy of Aurangzeb, the following doubts naturally arise in the mind of an honest historian. Kalasa & Sambhaji lived together for about 8 years. Did Kalusa require 8 long years to betray his master? Secondly if he had been a traitor, he should have been amply honoured and rewarded by Aurangzeb. History knows too well the reward he got for the alleged betrayal. Whatever might be the secret of Kalasa's domination, it was most disastrous to the Maratha State. What good could be predicted from such a prince?

Sambhaji's defeat at Mysore.

Causes: What should have been the main causes for Sambhaji's arrival with his army at the territories of Mysore near Madura?

1) The merciless slaughter of the three renowned Maratha Generals, namely Jaitaji, Dadaji and Nimbalkar by Chikkadevaraja of Mysore on the battle field of Srirangapatna in April 1682 roused the wrath of Sambhaji and he wanted to avenge the humiliation done to his generals.

2) Harji Mahadik, the Governor of Gingee drove out the Mysoreans from almost all the citadels which they had taken from the Nayak of Madura in the recent war; but the Mysoreans realising the strategical importance of their southern territories soon made

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1. A.H.M.P., P.127. See and Compare Sardesai: N.H.M., Vol.I, P.300 and Sarkar: History of Aurangzeb, Vol.IV, P.254.

friendship with the Maravas and asserted their authority over them all. The Jesuit letter of 1682 says: "The latter(Mysoreans) still possess some fortresses, among others that of Madura, with the help of the Maravas".[1] Therefore conquest of several Mysore territories in Madura so as to make the Gingee kingdoms compact, was one of the factors in inducing Sambhaji to go to the South.

3) EKoji was at Tanjore. Sambhaji wanted to see him.

4) From a letter of Fort. St.George dated 1681 it is possible to infer that the South had not accepted the suzerainty of Sambhaji though he laid claim for it.[2]

5) Last but not the least was that Sambhaji had an high ideal of uniting all the Hindus against the Muhammadans. In short he wanted to unite South against the North.[3]

Triple Alliance: It was not an easy task to overwhelm the ruler of Mysore who had already distinguished himself a foremost conqueror in the Karnatak by counteracting the incursions of the Marathas and several other chieftains of the South. Sambhaji thought that it was necessary to form an alliance with the mighty powers of the South to make his task easy. Accordingly he formed a triple alliance

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1. Nayaks of Madura by R.Satyanatha Aier, P.289.
2. Diary and Consultation Book 1681: Letter of Fort St.George dated December 10, 1681, pp.71-72. It says that "All the company's servants .... were sent for to give their opinions about settling a factory to the Southward in Sevagee's (Shivaji's) country, who very well approved of the motion .... It is likely this country may become subject to Sambojee, he having already claimed it as his due."
3. Sambhaji Kalina Patra Sara Sangraha, P.59, letter No.181.

consisting of Basappa Nayaka of Ikkeri and Qutb Shah of Golkonda against the redoubtable ruler of Mysore.[1] This is confirmed by the Jesuit letter of 1682 which says:

> "He (Sambhaji) is helped by Iquerian (Ikkerian) or the King of Canara and by the king of Golkonda, both of whom are united against the king of Mysore who is regarded as the common enemy".[2]

<u>Battle of Banavara</u>: Now Sambhaji descended into the South[3] at the head of a well trained army; and joining the armies of Bednur and Golkonda on his way, he encamped at Banavara.[4] The unexpected approach of the combined army on the border of Mysore took Chikkadevaraja by surprise; and for a moment upset all the calculation of the latter. Nevertheless he rose to the situation by determining to give battle to the enemies. The entire Mysore army was ordered to move to the encampment of the enemies. In the bloody battle of Banavara fought in June 1682, the allies were completely defeated sustaining heavy loss. It was a glorious victory to Chikkadevaraja[5] of Mysore.

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1. Apratima Vira Charitam, III, P.21.
2. Nayaks of Madura, P.290.
3. The Jesuit letter of 1682 (Nayaks of Madura, P.289) speaks of Sambhaji's movement in the South in the middle of 1682. J.N. Sarkar (Aurangzeb, Vol.IV, P.281) refers to the predatory incursions of Sambhaji in 1682. Kincaid & Parasnis speak of the inactivity of Sambhaji in Maharashtra after the unfinished siege of Janjira for fairly a long time (A.H.M.P., P.121). This makes me believe that Sambhaji must have been in the Karnatak.
4. Apratima Vira Charitam, III, Verse 21.
5. E.C. III (1) Sr.14 (1686); P.11.

Epigraphic records and literary sources describe the victory won by Chikkadevaraja over the opponents in a glowing terms; and elevate the king almost to the seventh Heaven.

Epigraphic record says that "Sambhu (Sambhaji) lost his valour, Qutb Shah failed in his purpose, Ikkeri Basava was disgraced".[1] The record further says that "as the animal in the forest at the sight of the lion, as the birds at the sight of the hawk, as the hares at the sight of the tiger, so did Sambhu, Shah and Basava sink down in terror and roll on the ground at the sight of Chikkadevaraja as if he were himself the terrible Narasimha".[2] This is confirmed by another inscription found in Srirangapatna dated 1722:

> "Sambhu's valour came to a stop, Kutupu Shah lost all hope, even Ikkeri Basava was disgraced, when mighty Chikkadevaraja set forth for war".[3]

In addition to this we have got literary sources. Apratima Vira Charitam, a work on rhetoric attributed to Chikkadevaraja says:

> "Chikkadeva Raja a mighty ruler that he was, had crushed the pride, haughtiness and high-handedness of Sambhaji, the son of Shivaji".[4]

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1. Ibid., text, P.36: Shambhu sthambhitha Vikramaḥ Kutupu Śāho 'Sanhataso hathad Ikkēri Basavo pīḍhīkkritam.'
2. Ibid., op.cit. text P.37: Drastya kēsarinam yathavana Mrigaḥ shyenam yatha pakshinah shārdūlam sasa ka yatha ssa vidha gantharks'yam yatha pannagah Vestanthe Sambhu Saha Basava bhītha yada lokanesoyam Sri Chikadēvarāja nripati ssaksannrisihma krithiḥ.
3. Ibid, Sr.64 (1722), P.20, text P.56.
4. A.V.C. III, 28; See also Chikkadevaraja Binnapam P.1. Verse 5:

(continued)

Arrival of Ekoji: It was exactly at this time Ekoji, having heard the ignominious defeat of Sambhaji at the hands of after all a petty king of Mysore, arrived in Banavara with an well equipped army. By joining the scattered armies of the Allies Ekoji made a desperate effort to reconquer Banavara. But his efforts came to nothing before the invincible ruler of Mysore who conducted the defence most amazingly. Ekoji was disgraced and repulsed with heavy slaughter.[1]

Results: The most important consequences of the famous battle of Banavara were: 1) It marked Banavara as the boundary between Chikkadevaraja of Mysore and Channammaji of Bednur; 2) For a moment it prevented the onrush of the Allies into the kingdom of Mysore.

The Theatre of the war changes to Trichinopoly 1682.

Frustrated in their ambition to subdue the enemy, the Allies deemed it necessary to change the theatre of the war from Banavara to that of Trichinopoly, so that they could equip themselves with all the necessary facilities and carry on war against Mysore in more vigorous way than before. Accordingly the army of the Allies proceeded to Trichinopoly & attacked Chokkanatha in his

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(from previous page)

Sorkinim dalliriva Śivāji suta Sambhūji yēlgeyanurbu korbumam tellenegeyda nadbhuta prākramadim Chikadēva Bhūvaram. See also the following sources ~~afx&~~ for Chikkadevaraja's exploit over Sambhaji: Sachchudrachara Nirnaya., I, 61-62; Gita Gopala P.19, Verse 32, pp.39, 70; E.C., Mys.Dis.Suppl.Vol. My. 115(1686-1690), ll. 74-75, 88-90, 94-95 repeating from Sr.14.

1. C.Binnapam, P.4. Verse 16: Avange (Sambhājige) neravāgi Banda Ekkōjiya janmavam sākumadi. For Ekoji's disgrace see E.C.III(1) Sr.14 (1686) and also Sr.64 (1722).

fortress.

Political situation in Madura: The political condition in Madura was hopeless, to the southern powers and this was exactly what the Allies required. About 16th June 1682 Chokkanatha breathed his last in a fit of melancholy.[1] The Jesuit letter of 1682 says: "The Nayak (Chokkanatha), frustrated in all his hopes, dispossessed of his dominions and all his treasures, abandoned by his troops, deprived of all resources and attacked by Samboji in his fortress of Trichinopoly ..... fell into a fit of melancholy which caused his death".[2] Muthu Virappa Nayaka III (1682-1689), the son of Chokkanatha succeeded his father in July 1682.[3] He was aged only 15 years then.

Harji Mahadik was still chasing the Mysoreans from their important strongholds in Madura: Ekoji, after making his position secure in Tanjore, had inaugurated his despotic rule; Harji Mahadik and Sambhaji were united to undo the work of Mysore in Madura; under these eminent generals, Gingee rose to prominence as the military base; Madura became very weak under a new weak ruler. This was the political picture of the South in about June, July of 1682.

Sambhaji's plunder: Now, Sambhaji tried to fish in the troubled sea of politics of Madura. The arrival of the Allies in Madura

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1. R.Sathyanatha Aiyar: Nayaks of Madura, P.190.
2. Nayaks of Madura, P.289.
3. Ibid., P.191.

gave them new vigour and strength, for Gingee and Tanjore were the strong Maratha holds. Taking advantage of the situation, Sambhaji resorted to exactions, brigandages and murders which desolated the country.[1]

<u>Difficulties of Chikkadevaraja</u>: Sambhaji's destructive policy in the southern territories of Mysore roused Chikkadevaraja to the lively consciousness of the danger that threatened him with destruction.

What could Chikkadevaraja do with an inadequate force against the stupendous army consisting of contingents of Ikkeri, Golkonda, Gingee, Tanjore and Maharashtra which was carrying on devastating wars under the eyes and orders of Sambhaji? Madura was the only ally Chikkadevaraja could think of; but unfortunately it was torn into pieces by the aggressive activities of the Marathas. Above all Muthu Virappa Nayaka III, the ruler of Madura was too weak and inexperienced as to be of any use to Chikkadevaraja.

<u>Chikkadevaraja's appeal to Aurangzeb</u>: In this perilous hour, for Chikkadevaraja there was no othergo except appealing to the Moghals for military aid. Aurangzeb then, was encamped at Aurangbad[2] with full determination to crush the Marathas.

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1. Nayaks of Madura, P.290.
2. J.N.Sarkar: Aurangzeb, IV, P.256.

The Jesuit letter of 1682 says:-

> "It is said that the Moghal, at the request of Mysore, is sending a formidable army against Sambogi".[1]

Aurangzeb did not seem to have responded to the request of Chikkadevas, as he himself was involved in a serious struggle against Bijapur.[2] Chikkadevaraja's attempt to rise in the estimation of Aurangzeb proved a thorough failure. He neither received reply nor help. The show of friendship which Chikkadevaraja had kept up with Aurangzeb, was now dispelled. So Chikkadevaraja turned his attention towards Madura where the cruelties and butcheries of the Marathas were great.

<u>Chikkadevaraja went to war</u>: He hurriedly collected an army and despatched it to Madura with instructions to toss the enemies on the point of sword where ever they were found. The Mysore army with forced marches came down and encamped on its southern territories very close to the enemy's camp. In the meanwhile Sambhaji ravaged the whole province perpetrating incalculable havocs and capturing many fortresses belonging to Mysore.

The Jesuit letter of 1682 says:

> "In the northern provinces (of Madura), he (Sambhaji) has taken several of its fortresses, all the province of Dharmapuri and other neighbouring territories."[3]

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1. R.Satyanatha Aiyar: Nayaks of Madura, P.290.
2. J.N.Sarkar: Aurangzeb, IV, pp.300-303.
3. Nayaks of Madura, P.290.

What the Mysorean army did in the South, we have no means of knowing. Most probably, the Mysoreans being stunned at the sight of the stupendous army of the Allies, ceased to fight till they were properly reinforced. Any way this was the position of the two armies at the closing year of 1682.

Madura in 1683.

Madura was divided into water-tight compartments among several warring, mutually jealous powers. Being caught in the jaws of these powers, Madura found itself in a hopeless position. This was exactly the position that Sambhaji required to fulfill his insatiable desire. Further Sambhaji boldly and courageously placed his finger over all Karnataka possessions on the pretext of them being subjugated by his father, Shivaji during his famous Karnatak expedition. Mysore did not like to loose even an inch of land in Madura because of its strategical importance. Mysore put x up a stout resistance against the aggressive activities of several powers that gathered in Madura; but its position was becoming weak. The Jesuit letter of 1683 gives the clear-cut picture of the political condition of Madura in the following way:

> "The ancient kingdom of Madura is in shreds: the Nayak keeps a small portion of it, another is occupied by the king of Mysore, a third by the petty king of Marava, a fourth by Sambogi(Sambhaji), lastly, a fifth by Ekoji. .... The powers of the king of Mysore in Madura begins to grow weak, because

violently attacked in his own dominions by the troops of Sambogi, he can not sustain & reinforce the armies he had sent to these countries."[1]

Several provinces which were brought under subjection by Mysore in her southern direction, were now throwing off her yoke and asserting their independence. To realise their ultimate goal, they went to the extent of making an alliance with several political powers that gathered there to swallow up as much territories as possible.[2] This state of affairs presented number of difficulties to Mysore.

What could he do in that discouraging situation? Everything was getting out of control. The half-subjugated vassals, the accumulated wealth & the hard-won reputation of Chikkadevaraja were slipping out of his hands. Kingship now, at Mysore was not a bed of roses; but of thorns.

Chikkadevaraja sued for peace: To thwart the impending danger, there was no other alternative for Chikkadevaraja except entering into negotiations with Sambhaji. Chikkadevaraja, more careful and tactful that he was, realised that the ultimate consequences of the war would be fatal if things were allowed to continue in the same manner.

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1. Nayaks of Madura, P.291.
2. Ibid.

Two factors seem to have been mainly responsible for Chikkadevaraja's resolution to effect a treaty with Sambhaji: the devastating ravages of Sambhaji in the Mysore kingdom in close cooperation with Ekoji, Qutb Shah and the Bednur ruler; secondly his inability to reinforce the Mysore army which was sent to wage war in the environs of Madura against Sambhaji.

Under those circumstances, Chikkadevaraja was compelled to make treaty with Sambhaji. Chikkadevaraja paid tribute to Sambhaji.[1] Then the latter withdrew from the scene of Madura with all his army. Concluding this treaty about May 1683, Sambhaji retreated to Raygad.

<u>Results:</u> Indeed it was a serious set back to the progress of Mysore in the south; secondly it had not only told heavily on the treasury of Mysore but lowered the prestige of its ruler as well. On the otherhand the Marathas grew powerful; and had the satisfaction of bringing round the redoubtable enemy, Chikkadevaraja.

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1. C.Binnapam, P.4. Verse 16: Mattamā Sambhōjige kappa vithum kūtamam kalipi.
C.Hayavadana Rao: History of Mysore, Vol.I, P.304. F.N.119 attempts to give a different meaning to the word "Kappa" which exactly means tribute. It is often said that historical facts are true but inferences are wrong. Likewise the above mentioned author draws a wrong inference from a plain true historical facts. History shall, by no means be a record of biased views.

The Fall of Bijapur, 1685-1686.

Aurangzeb's idea to destroy Bijapur: The desertion of the rebel son, Akbar to Sambhaji, the inveterate enemy of the Moghals, caused great pain to Aurangzeb. Realising the imminent danger from the rebel prince, Aurangzeb hurriedly patched up a peace with the Rajaputs (14th June 1681), left Rajaputana for the south and arrived in Burhanpur in the month of November 1681. At this stage, Sambhaji was his only enemy, and no invasion of either Bijapur or Golkonda was as yet contemplated. Indeed Aurangzeb wrote a letter to Sharza Khan, an important general of Bijapur (13th July 1681) asking him to cooperate with the Moghals in putting an end to Sambhaji. But unfortunately no reply was given to him by the Bijapur generals. This made Aurangzeb understand that in Sambhaji both Adil Shah and his officers saw the only reliable friend.[1]

So, Aurangzeb resolved to increase the pressure on Sambhaji by making a diversion against the Bijapuris. With this end in view the Emperor arrived at Ahmadnagar on 13th November 1683.

When Sikandar Shah, the Sultan of Bijapur wrote a spirited letter in 1684 to Aurangzeb demanding him to repay all the tribute

1. Sarkar: Aurangzeb, Vol.IV, pp.301-302.

taken from Bijapur in the past, restore all the conquered territories in Bijapur and to march against Sambhaji through his (Aurangzeb's) territory only, Aurangzeb jumped to the conclusion that Sikandar had determined to support Sambhaji.[1]

According to Linganna Kavi,

> "Aurangzeb came to an unalterable conclusion that owing to the marriage effected between Sultan Muhammad Shah, the son of Ali Adil Shah of Bijapur and Badi Saheba, the daughter of Qutb Shah of Golkonda, the two kingdoms, namely Bijapur and Golkonda have come closer by relationship and have been acting intimately with each other. Under the shade of the two kingdoms, Sambhaji has been growing most powerful without showing any consideration for the Imperial Majesty. Unless these two fearful kingdoms are destroyed, sambhaji would not submit to the Moghal authority. Thinking in this manner, Aurangzeb left Delhi for the South and reached Aurangabad with his stupendous army".[2]

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1. Basatin us Salatin pp.447-448 cited by Sarkar in his Aurangzeb, Vol.IV, pp.305-306.
2. Ke.N.V., IX, P.155: Vijāpurada pātusāha Vibrāma Alli yēdula Shāhana kumāranāda Sulutāna Mahammudda Sāhange Gōlukondeyada Kutuba Sāhana putriyāda Bade Sahebatiyam tandudarim Vijāpura Bhāgānagaragala pātusaharbīga manetanadavarāgi vartisutirparivargalanusandhāna mukhadinda Sambhāji (text reads Shivaji) Balisthanagi tannam laksīkarisade Nadeyutirpanivu Bhayasamsthānangalam muridallade yī Sambhāji tanage svādhīnamāganendālōchisi Avarangazeba pātusaham Dilliyam teralda, Avaranga-Bādinōlnindu Hērala chaturanga sainyamam nerahi.

Aurangzeb's encampment: The Emperor soon, felt that it was most essential to be nearer to the scene of action and therefore on 26th April 1685 he left Ahmadnagar and reached Sholapur on May 24th 1685 which became his headquarters for one year.[1] From there Aurangzeb sent his sons to capture the fort of Bijapur; but all their efforts to batter down the walls of the fort proved failure. Then the Emperor realised that unless he took the command in person, the fort would not fall. As he told a holy Shaikh of Sarhind, "I had hoped that one of my sons would take the fort; but it is not to be. So, I want to go there myself and see what kind of barrier is this Bijapur that it has not been forced so long".[2]

Linganna Kavi says,

> "Having arrived at Bijapur with his stupendous army, Aurangzeb laid siege to fort and caused the paths and valleys of the fort completely blocked, the holes under the fort walls so as to scale down them. But their determined efforts to pull down the walls came to an inglorious end."[3]

This is confirmed by other sources[4] which say,

> "The Moghal troops, inspired by the Emperor's

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1. Sarkar: Aurangzeb, Vol.IV., P.312.
2. Ibid, P.319.
3. Ke.N.V., IX, P.156: "Teraldu Vijāpurada kōntage muttige ikkisi patha, paika, kandi kanivegalam kattisi Nadegonte tali surangagalam Nadesuttinthanēkaprayatna galim atyanta sāhasangaydodam Asadhyamagada.
4. Ishwardas, 102a; Basatin i Salatin, P.452; Masiri-i-Alamgiri cited in Sarkar's Aurangzeb Vol.IV, P.323.

presence and words, attempted an assault on the wall opposite. But it failed."

Now "Aurangzeb realised that the reduction of the fort had been an impossible task owing to financial help being rendered to Bijapur constantly by the two foremost Hindu brothers, named Akkanna and Madanna who held the entire administration of the Golkonda kingdom in their hands". "Aurangzeb persisted in his endeavour; and with all his troubles and tribulations laid close siege to the fort."[1]

In the eyes of Aurangzeb, the Golkonda Sultan's offence was his fraternising with infidels. The Sultan had made the Brahmans, Akkanna and Madanna, his Chief Ministers and thus allowed Hindu influence to predominate in the administration. This is clear from the Emperor's writing to his envoy at Golkonda; "The luckless wretch (Abul Hassan Qutb Shah) has given the supreme power in his state to a Kafar and made Sayids, Shaiks and Scholars subject to that man."[2]

People regarded Madanna as the cause of all their sufferings at the hands of the Moghals, - "the cause of the ruin of the state and of the slaughter of Muslims and soldiers."

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1. Ke.N.V., IX, P.156: Bhāganagarada Samsthānadakhaṇḍādi-kāramam vahisi Nadesutirdakkanna Madannarenba prasiddha niyōgigal nadesutirda sahāyamūladindēnadodama paristharaṇam ksiprasādhya-māgadirpudam kandu chaladim kasthugeydu nindiraydu varsambaram Neladandilidu Jerumuthigeyanikki Bahuvidha prayatnam māduttiral." See also Sarkar's Aurangzeb, Vol.IV, pp.334-335.
2. Khafi Khan, ii. 328.

Murder of Madanna (March 1686). Linganna Kavi writes that "Aurangzeb heard in the midst of the siege of Bijapur that Madanna and Akkanna were treacherously killed in a plot formed against them by the persons of Siddhi's Clan."[1]

The other sources[2] agree with Linganna on this point. "On hearing the news Aurangzeb was very much delighted and said to himself that the work of reducing the two fearful kingdoms almost accomplished".[3]

Chikkadevaraja's help to Aurangzeb: As proximity to the waters gives delicacy to the shade of a tree, the nearness of Aurangzeb to Bijapur gave terror to the delicate personality of Sikandarshah. In his hour of peril, Allies began to flock together. Golkonda sent her help: Though Sambhaji sent Hambir Rao Mohite at the head of a body of Maratha horse to harass the Moghal communication and save his ally from his overhanging danger, yet Sambhaji could not step on the soil of Bijapur in person. This was because of the expedition that Sambhaji undertook to subjugate the king of Mysore.

While Sikandar Shah was helped by his Allies in men and artillery, Aurangzeb was also supported and backed up by the opponents of the Marathas. One such power that helped Aurangzeb was Mysore. Chikkadevaraja, the powerful king of rising Mysore

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1. Ke.N.V., IX, P.156: Ittam Bhāgānagaradōl sarvādhikāramam Nadesuttirdakkanna Madannaremba niyōgigal kuhikigal bhinnatantramam rachisi nadesida lēkhana mūladim Siddhijātiyavarim ghātamukhadindalidaremba varthamānavam Awarangzēbam kēldu.
2. Khafi Khan, ii, 308; Ishwardas, 91b; Dilkasha, 191 cited by Sarkar in his Aurangzeb, Vol.IV, pp.350-351.
3. Ke.N.V., IX, P.156: "Varthamānavanavarangajēbam kēldinnu Vijāpura Bhāgānagaragalemba Bhayasamsthānangalumenage sādhyamāduvendu pramuditha mānasanāgi".

actively befriended the Imperial Majesty agreeing to cooperate in "his darling project" of reducing Bijapur and Golkonda. The timely pact of Chikkadevaraja was designed to avenge the utter humiliation sustained at Madura at the hands of Sambhaji.[1]

Of course the military services rendered by Chikkadevaraja to the paramount Lord of the North might look small when viewed from the position he had occupied in the tiny kingdom of Mysore. Yet it should not be passed over. In war even insignificant things play their decisive role.

Chikkadevaraja Binnapam says:

> "The mighty Chikkadevaraja well versed in diplomacy secured the surrender of the two powerful kingdoms of Bijapur and Golkonda to the ruler of Delhi namely Aurangzeb whom he had invited to effect their conquests."[2]

The Moghal Emperor conducted the siege more vigorously than before with the cooperation of the Mysore army.

<u>The fall of Bijapur</u>: Monday 13, September 1686[3] saw the downfall of the Bijapur monarchy. Amidst tears and lamentations of his

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1. Nayaks of Madura, pp.289-291.
2. C.Binnapam, P.4: Gōlukonde Vijāvāpuradavaram kēnamgondu, Avaranandalevudarke Dhilliyālva Mahā Padusāhanenisuva Avaranga Sāhanam Barisi, Avanindavarīrvara Dēsakōsangalam kavardu kaiseregondu; See also P.2, Verse 8: Edulu Shāhanam karam mulungisi and also Verse 9.
3. Jedhe Sakavali - Shivaji Souvenir, P.30.

subjects who lined the streets, Sikandar Shah, the last of the Adil Shahi Sultans, gave up his ancestaral throne and with the fall of the monarchy, the hostile relationship between Bijapur and Mysore came to an end.

<u>Sikandar before Aurangzeb</u>: Meanwhile, the large tent which became the Hall of Public Audience in Aurangzeb's camp, had been richly decorated for this historic scene. The fallen monarch arrived and made his bow at the foot of the conqueror's throne.

Linganna Kavi says,

> "Aurangzeb was very much pleased to see the young Sultan, Sikandar Shah who conducted the defence of the fort ably and efficiently to such a length of time, in spite of the lack of war armaments, throwing the besiegers to utter miseries".[1] Aurangzeb honoured him profusely.[2]

<u>Fall of Golkonda 21st September 1687</u>: Highly elated at the success, Aurangzeb left Bijapur on 30th October 1686 and reached Gulbarga and Bidar to deal with the luckless Sultan, Abu Hassan, the ruler of Golkonda. On hearing the news of Aurangzeb's coming,

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1. Ke.N.V., IX, P.156: Jakīri rasthu Musthaydegalilla dirdoḍam bahukālam kōnteyam kaliyērisi kādisidanendu mechchi Sulitāna Sikhindranam Mannisi.

2. Ke.N.V., IX, P.156: See also Ishwardas. 104; Masir-i-Alamgiri, 280, Dilkasha, 202 cited in Sarkar's Aurangzeb, Vol.IV, pp.325-326.

the Sultan was in utter terror. On 21st September 1687, Aurangzeb captured Golkonda. Linganna Kavi says,

> "On reaching Bhaganagar, Aurangzeb laid siege to its impregnable fort and after a prolonged siege, he took possession of it".[1]

When the Moghals made their entry into the palace, the sultan greeted them kindly descending from the royal throne, and behaved as if he had been inviting his friends. The Sultan was captured and presented before Aurangzeb who pardoned his offences and lodged him in his tent.[2]

Linganna Kavi says, "Aurangzeb rebuked and dishonoured the Sultan, for his inability to defend the fort in spite of the enormous war equipments he had at his disposal".[3]

Dr.Careri[4] and Manucci[5] agree with Linganna on the point of how the Qutb Shah of Golkonda was treated by Aurangzeb.

Linganna's statement requires a slight revision. Aurangzeb punished the Qutb Shah, not because of his inability to defend the fort but because of his innumerable offences.

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1. Ke.N.V., IX, P.156: Allim teraldu Bhanganagarada kōnteyam vedhaisi Sāhma sambaram neladandilidu Jeru muttigevanikki balikkākonteyam tegedukondu. See Also Masiri-i-Alamgiri, 292. Khafi Khan, ii, 361: C.Binnaram, P.2. Verse 8 and 9.
2. Khafi Khan, ii, 363-364.
3. Ke.N.V., IX, P.156: "Jakiri rasthu musthaydegal sampūrnamāgirdam kōnteyanittanenda Bhāgānagarada Tana Sahanam (Abu Hassal) tiraskarisi tējōbhangamam mādi.
4. Churchill's Voyages, IV, 249.
5. Manucci, ii, 306-308.

The spoils taken at Golkonda amounted nearly seven crores of rupees in cash besides gold and silver plate, jewels and jewelled wares.[1]

Gazing at the immense booty placed before him, Aurangzeb must have thanked whole-heartedly Chikkadevaraya for his valuable help.

What reward Chikkadevaraja received from Aurangzeb in return for his service, we have no means of knowing. Nevertheless it can be gathered that Chikkadevaraja rose high in the estimation of his enemies particularly the Marathas by helping Aurangzeb in his seizure of Bijapur.

Sambhaji in Mysore - 1686.

When Aurangzeb ordered his stupendous army to march against Bijapur with full determination to raze it to the ground. Sambhaji was engaged himself in a severe struggle with the ruler of Mysore. There need not be any doubt about the presence of sambhajiin 1686 in Mysore kingdom for Edward Scott Waring and the jesuit letter of 1686 throw plenty of light on Sambhaji's presence in Mysore.

Edward Scott Waring says:

> "Sambhaji in 1686 was engaged against the forts and districts belonging to Bijapur government in the Carnatic".

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1. Sarkar: Aurangzeb, Vol.IV, P.386.

Unfortunately Edward Scott Waring, like many other contemporary and later writers, has mistakenly believed that the entire Karnataka was subjugated by Bijapur. But as we have seen, Mysore had maintained its independent status in spite of the frequent incursions of the Bijapur intruders. Therefore Waring's statements must be taken into account with this due margin.[1]

The Jesuit letter of 1686 speaks of the atrocious war of Sambhaji in the heart of the Mysore kingdom.[2] This letter forms the second source of information to prove that Sambhaji was in Mysore in 1686.

<u>Causes</u>: What should have been the causes of Sambhaji's invasion to Mysore?

1) First and the foremost reason was that Chikkadevaraja seemed to have failed to pay the tribute according to the terms of the treaty of 1683.

2) Secondly Chikkadevaraja extended his helping hand to Aurangzeb with men and materials, when he was camping at Bijapur with full determination to raze the fort to the ground. This military aid to the Imperial Majesty, the inveterate opponent of

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1. History of the Mahrattas, P.117.
2. Nayaks of Madura, P.292.

the Marathas, roused Sambhaji.[1]

The circumstances were favourable for Sambhaji to project his campaign against the king of Mysore. Several Vassals in Madura who remained under the control of Mysore for so many years, were now throwing off its yoke and asserting their independence.

The Jesuit letter of 1686 says:

> "The political condition of these kingdoms (in the South) presents the same intestine broils and confusion, as in the previous years; it is the labour of dissolution which continues its work till the great powers of the North come to terminate it by a general invasion. In the South, the petty rajas, once Vassals of Madura, continue to shake off the yoke of Mysore, too weak to preserve her conquests".[2]

<u>Alliance of Sambhaji</u>: Sambhaji descended into Mysore with a band of well-trained horse-men and encamped in the neighbourhood of Srirangapatna,[3] probably in the first week of October 1686.[4]

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1. See the Chapter: The Fall of Bijapur.
2. Nayaks of Madura, pp.291-292.
3. The Jesuit letter of 1686 says that Sambhaji is attacking the king of Mysore in the very heart of his kingdom. From this statement I have inferred that the heart of the Mysore kingdom is no other than Srirangapatna, the capital city.
4. I have drawn up a conclusion that Chikkadevaraja's military aid to Aurangzeb was one of the most important causes for Sambhaji to launch forth the invasion of Mysore. The date of his encampment approximately falls on the first week of October as Bijapur was captured by Aurangzeb on 12th Sept.1686. It is only after this date that Sambhaji came to Mysore. Therefore I have put the first week of October 1686.

The Jesuit letter says:

> "Sambogi mercilessly conducts war against the king of Mysore, whose dominions he is invading, and is strongly helped by the revolts of the inhabitants against their own sovereign".[1]

Secondly Chikkadevaraja Binnapam, supposed to have been written by Chikkadevaraja himself says:

> "Relying on the boastfulness of the Marathas, the chieftains of Morasa, Tigula, Kodaga and Malayala countries, unitedly advanced against the king of Mysore; but were defeated."[2]

From making a comparative study of the above sources, it is possible to infer that Sambhaji was backed up and supported by the discontented chieftains of Morasa, Tigula, Kodaga and Malayalam kingdoms.

Sambhaji's alliance with these chieftains gave him new strength; and with their cooperation, Sambhaji determined to crush Chikkadevaraja.

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1. Nayaks of Madura, P.292.
2. C.Binnapam, P.4; Ā Marāṭhara ātōpamam nambi mumbaridu yaḍabaladoḷinisinisum ponarda Morasa Tiguala Kodanga, Malayāḷa nādamannayaram Bannambadisi.

Chikkadevaraja's financial difficulties: It was an alarming news to Chikkadevaraja. However he had resolved to give battle to the advancing enemy. He looked into his treasury; but the whole treasury was dried up. So he was forced to resort to "exactions and cruelties in the eastern provinces of his dominions". This brought about a wide spread rebellion in the country.[1] Added to the discontentment of the subjects, Chikkadevaraja could not feel confident of his success in any venture, for he had despatched his army to Bijapur in support of Aurangzeb. Thus the king was forced to face disorderliness and lawlessness in his kingdom. Like a man in the mine with a murky light of a lamp in his hand scratching labouriously at the hard rock, Chikkadevaraja kept quiet; became speechless as to what he should do to put a check to the devastating expedition of Sambhaji.

Discontented subjects helped Sambhaji: Describing the organisation of the discontented subjects, the Jesuit letter says:

> "Stimulated by the losses which weakened him(Chikkadevaraja) on all sides, driven by the impulse of the present sufferings ..... they chose as their generals two Brahmans and formed two large armies. The one composed of 70,000 men marched straight against the fortress of Mysore and besieged the king who shut himself there; the second

1. Nayaks of Madura, P.292, referring to the widespread rebellion in the Mysore kingdom owing to the brutal method adopted by the Raja to exact money from the subjects.

composed of 30,000 men burst out on the province of Satyamangalam and the adjoining districts".[1]

Sambhaji was greatly helped by these revolted inhabitants. The Jesuit account says: "Sambogi .... is strongly helped by the revolts of the inhabitants".[2]

The allies of Sambhaji were now: the discontented chieftains of Morasa, Tigula, Coorg and Malayala regions as well as the rebellious inhabitants of the Mysore kingdom. Sambhaji, with their closer cooperation and coordination, burst out on Srirangapatna, the capital city of Mysore.

<u>Chikkadevaraja defeats his enemies</u>: As regards Chikkadevaraja's fight with those enemies, the following sources state thus:

> "The Jesuit letter of 1686 says: "The king of Mysore, incensed at their (his subjects') insolence, sent an army against them to carry fire and sword everywhere, and toss the rebels on the point of the sword, without distinction of age or sex. These creul orders were executed. The pagodas of Vishnu and Siva were destroyed, and their large revenues confiscated to the royal treasury. Those idolators who escaped the carnage fled to the mountains and forests, where they led a miserable life".[3]

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1. Nayaks of Madura, P.292.
2. Ibid, P.292.
3. Ibid, P.194.

Chikkadevaraja Binnapam says:

"The chieftains of Morasa, Tigula, Coorg and Malayala countries who advanced against Chikkadevaraja depending upon the promises of the Marathas were disgraced"[1] and put to flight.

The same authority says that

"Sambhaji sank in the sea of fear"[2] at the approach of Chikkadevaraja with his huge army. In another page of the same book it is stated that the prominent Maratha, Sambhaji became lifeless and that he was caught in the net of Chikkadevaraja.[3]

From these sources one can arrive at this conclusion: the rebellion of the inhabitants was most inhumanly suppressed at the point of sword; the Allies of Sambhaji were disgraced and driven out; Sambhaji, having seen the severe punishment meted out to his allies by Chikkadevaraja found his way in honourable retreat, setting aside all the hope of giving battle to Chikkadevaraja of Mysore.

Thus Sambhaji's invasion of Mysore came to nothing except in the increase of honour and prestige of Chikkadevaraja of Mysore.

Sambhaji retreated to his homeland towards the end of October 1686 with his army.

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1. C.Binnapam: P.4. Ā marātarātōpamam nambi mumbaridu ...ponarda Morasa Tigula Koḍaga Malayāla nāḍa manneyaram Bannambadisi; E.C.III(1), Sr.64.
2. C.Binnapam, P.4: Sambhōjiyam Bhayāranavadōl mulungisi.
3. C.Binnapam, P.59.

On 30th October 1686, Aurangzeb departed from Bijapur, after taking delivery of the fort and also of its wealth and then travelled to Gulbarga.[1]

On hearing of the destruction of Bijapur, Sambhaji thought that it would be wise to be present in his own environs as there was every likelihood of Aurangzeb carrying fire and sword into Panhala. It seemes to have been this fear that induced Sambhaji to leave Mysore as early as possible. Whether it was his inability to prosecute the war against Mysore or the necessity that compelled him to retreat, we have no means of knowing. Any way Kannada source was emphatic in saying that Sambhaji was expelled from Mysore.

The important consequences of this event were: 1) the prestige of Sambhaji was lowered; 2) the chance of founding a permanent settlement of the Marathas in Mysore was missed; 3) the political relationship between Mysore and Maharashtra was further strained; 4) Mysore was able to emerge as a strong political power in the South from all political confusion and disorder following from the plundering expeditions of the Marathas; 5) Chikkadevaraja's fame as a prominent ruler of Mysore spread far and wide; 6) the most disastrous of all was that it paved the way for Ekoji of Tanjore to dispose off Bangalore to any one who was prepared to pay him a huge money.

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1. Sarkar: Aurangzeb, IV, P.356.

CHAPTER XII

Moghal conquest of Bangalore; Last days of Ekoji and Sambhaji.

The result of Ekoji's tyrannical rule: Ekoji never seems to have realized the necessity of winning the love and confidence of the people whom he was to rule. On the contrary he inaugurated his tyrannical rule which brought about so revolting a situation in Tanjore that he was forced to resort to cruelties and violence in his own territories; and this created jealousy and hatred in his subjects, which rendered impossible for him a good and stable government enduring for long. Apart from the penalisation of his subjects, he began to appropriate all rice fields whose produce was reserved for worship of gods and also Jewels and Jewelled wares of the temple just to fulfill his insatiable avarice for gold and money disregarding priests and temple-authorities.

The domestic condition is vividly painted by the Jesuit letter of 1682:

"After plundering the men, he has fallen on the pagodas of his own idols. One had never seen so much temerity in a pagan, but he is a pagan who has no other God than his cupidity. To satisfy it he has appropriated the treasures of the pagodas and their large possessions".[1] When the priestly class came in

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1. Nayaks of Madura, P.289.

lamentation to represent their grievences before the king, he said: "Gods did not eat rice and that offerings of fragrant flowers would suffice".[1] This is how the arrogant Ekoji treated the unhappy subjects.

The Jesuit letter continues further:

> "To his tyranny are added other disasters. An inundation .... has wrought horrible ravages on the sea-coast, because it has been accompanied by a terrible gust of wind ..... In the villages of the sea-coast alone, more than 6,000 persons have been the victims of this disaster".[2]

Administration of Ekoji: The administration of Ekoji in the Tanjore kingdom was inefficient and erratic; for the peasants were burdened with too many exactions from the king. Apart from the fifth of the produce of the land he was taking, also demanding payment of money in cash. The cultivators, having subjected to these barbarous tortures were not happy during his reign.[3]

Apart from these troubles and tribulations within, there were also disturbances with out. His political boundaries were

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1. Nayaks of Madura, P.289.
2. Ibid. pp.289-290 (letter of 1682)
3. Ibid. P.291 (letter of 1683).

not safe having been subjected to frequent incursions of the thieves (Kallans), Maravas,[1] Mysoreans and the Madura Nayak.

When Sambhaji was entangled in an hopeless embarrassment at the hands of Chikkadevaraja during 1682, Ekoji marched with a formidable army to aid Sambhaji and relieve him of his troubles but unfortunately he was disgraced and almost isolated from joining either the Marathas or Qutb Shah by the tricks and tactics adopted by the ruler of Mysore.[2] This humiliation was still fresh and green in the mind of Ekoji who realised the futility of coming into collision with the king of Mysore.

<u>Chikkadeva took Maratha possessions in April 1687:</u> Taking advantage of this internal discontentment of his subjects and the bombardment of his border lands by the Kallans and the Maravas, Chikkadevaraja tried his luck on the distant possessions of Ekoji. During the confusing period following the invasion of the Maratha hordes (1682-1683), principal Maratha possessions such as Chikkanayakanahalli, Kandikere and Tyamagondlu which were the possessions of Chikkadevaraja were lost to the same ruler namely Ekoji. Now Chikkadevaraja, freed from the fear of the Marathas was able to concentrate his attention on the seizure of the principal territories necessary for connecting his former frontier with these territories. During April-May, Chikkadevaraja seized the

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1. Nayaks of Madura, P.292 (letter of 1686).
2. E.C. III (1) Sr.14 (1686).

above said places[1] and incorporated them into his kingdom. Attacked so violently from within and without, Ekoji saw no hope of the survival of his possessions round about Mysore. The fall of Chikkanayakanahalli, Kandikere and the impending siege of Tyamagondlu, roused him to a full sense of the danger which now began to threaten his richest possession, the golden land of Maratha possession in Mysore, from the extension of Mysore kingdom in that direction. Further realising the dangerous position in which his distant kingdom of Bangalore was placed constantly threatened by the contending armies Ekoji thought it best to sell it to the highest bidder.[2]

Mysore and the Moghals 1687.

The fall of Bijapur into Mughal hands in September 1686 and imminent seige of Golkonda awakened Sambhaji from his deep slumber and roused him to a lively sense of the danger to his possessions in Karnataka by an extension of Moghal dominion in that direction. In October 1686, he sent Kesava Pingle and Santaji Ghorpade with 12,000 horse southwards to strengthen his garrisons in Karnataka with secret instructions to seize and depose the refractory Harji Raja and take over the Government of Gingee. There was even a suspicious belief that Harji Raja made an attempt

1. Mys.Dho.Pur., I.C; Wilks, I, P.226. Annals I, 106-107.
2. Wilks, I, P.226; see and compare Annals, P.110.

to secure his position safe and sound by abrogating the suzerainty of Sambhaji and declaring himself a tributary Vassal of the Mughal.[1] Kavi Kalasa, the dominant figure in the court of Sambhaji induced him to believe that Harji really aimed at independence. The latter had no such intention towards his brother-in-law; but his agents in the Maratha capital persuaded the king[2] to be on his guard in dealing with Kesava Pingle and Santaji. When the news of the new measure of Sambhaji was communicated to Aurangzeb, he was a little bit perturbed but not knowing where they had gone, he simply consoled himself that the main target of attack might be Mysore.[3] Soon Aurangzeb detached a large army from the siege of Golkonda to invest Bangalore which was then in the hands of Ekoji, before the latter could make any attempt to strengthen its defence.[4]

Keshav Trimbak reached Gingee on 11th February 1687.[5] Having come, Keshav Trimbak, proclaimed the object with which he had arrived there. The factory record of 26th March 1687 says:

> "Harji Raja was out of employment and a new person has come down in his place",

Another letter of April 1687 says:

> ."all the Subadars had been to Gingee to give

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1. Orme: Fragments of History, P.155.
2. C.S.Srinivasachari: History of Gingee, pp.245-246.
3. Sarkar: Aurangzeb, Vol.V. P.54.
4. C.S.Srinivasachari: History of Gingee, P.246.
5. Sarkar: Aurangzeb, Vol.V. P.54.

Kesava Pant, the new man, a visit".

This leakage of secracy had doomed to disappointment all his high hopes and aspiration in respect of a new post. Harji, having learnt the mission that Kesava Pant was to perform in Gingee, strengthened his position over the Gingee fortress and ordered all his army men to be faithful, loyal obedient to their master. Kesava Pant finding his game lost, treated Harji with some outward respect and acknowledged his suzerainty to all appearances.[1]

In the meanwhile, the Moghal detachment sent under Khasim Khan proceeded southwards in all its rapidity pursuing the Maratha army that had already gone under Kesav Pant and Santaji. Passing by way of Penukonda,[2] the Moghal army arrived at Tumkur. Leaving Tumkur undisturbed to Chikkadeva, they proceeded further.[3] The Mughals entered the kingdom of Mysore for the first time in 1687 under the able generalship of Khasim Khan.[4]

The internal crisis and the external danger drove Ekoji to realise the futility of holding a distant dominion of Bangalore and therefore he offered to sell it away to the highest bidder. The holding of such a dominion was a costly affair too, as has been admitted by Wilks.[5] But according to Annals, when Chikkadevaraja made successful expeditions to Madura and Trichinopoly and

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1. Sarkar: Aurangzeb, Vol.V, P.55.
2. Ibid, P.55.
3. See and compare Annals I, P.106.
4. For details see Sarkar: Aurangzeb V, pp.52-56.
5. History of Mysore Vol.I, P.109.

and reduced powerful chieftains into submission, Ekoji heard of his prowess and thinking that he would be more than a match for him he decided to be in friendly terms with him.[1] The survey of the situation brings to light that it was not for the courting of friendship with the Raja whose fame as the best conqueror had spread far and wide but it was only the condition of the time in which he lived that made him determine to sell it away to the highest bidder. Chikkadevaraja became a purchaser agreeing to pay three lakhs of rupees as was fixed up by Ekoji.[2] When the negotiations were going on for a peaceful settlement through an intermediary - a Vakil sent by Ekoji from Tanjore to the court of Chikkadevaraja, the whole thing was upset by the sudden appearance of Khasim Khan, the Moghal General, at Bangalore. Having occupied the place, the General hoisted the imperial flag on the ramparts of Bangalore on 10th July 1687.[3]

It was certainly a hard task to find out as to who secured victory at Bangalore, because conflicting sources display conflicting versions. Kannada Sources reserve victory to their master while Persian and other sources attribute the success to Aurangzeb's general.

1) The Annals state that the Raja fought and drove him (Khasim Khan) out of Bangalore and occupied the place on the

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1. Annals. I, P.110.
2. Ibid, P.110; Grant Duff: History of the Mahrattas Vol.I, P.349.
3. Mys.Dho.Pur.II. 38, Prabhava, Nija Ashada su 11; see also Annals I, P.110; Orme (Historical Fragments, pp.155-156) places the surrender of Bangalore to Khasim Khan early in Aug.1687; Wilks (I, P.110) about July 1687; Sarkar:(Aurangzeb, Vol.V, P.54-55 F.N.) places it on 10th June or July 10,1687. The former is preferred here as the most specific date.

14th July 1687.[1]

(2) The Maratha Chronicle - Jedhe Sakhavali fully corroborates the statement: "Ashada Shukla 10 (10th July 1687), Chief of Mysore brought aid to Bangalore and seized Kassim Khan with forces".[2]

(3) Sambhaji Patra-Sara Sangrah, P.118 says that Chikkadevaraja with the help of Harji defeated Kassim Khan in 1687, July 4. Here the date is wrong and the part played by Harji in cooperation with Chikkadevaraja is doubtful.

(4) Wilks gives entirely a different view that the Raja was far too shrewd to attempt any such rash act. He saw that the courting of Khasim Khan's friendship would by far be the better thing to do under the circumstances as it would enable him to put himself in favour with the Emperor Aurangzeb who had already set an eye on the territories of the Raja. The Raja foresaw the unwisdom of turning hostile to the Emperor while he was quietly and without any interference on the part of Emperor's deputies subjugating minor chiefs and consolidating and extending his territories. The Emperor's friendship would also be a source of strength to him as it would enable him to overawe the many turbulent chieftains and palegars whom he had subjugated. On the other hand the Emperor too was not in a mood to quarrel with the

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1. Annals, I. P. Ā Khāsim Khānanannu hoḍedōdisi nijāshāda suddha 15 lli tamma thāṇavannu hākikonḍu.
2. Shivaji Souvenir, P.30.
3. Sambhaji Patrasara Sangrah, P.118.

Raja because he found out the necessity of securing the alliance of a powerful local chieftain in order to facilitate the marching of his armies for which the territories of Mysore offered a convenient stage on the widely extended range of operations carried on by the Emperor against the Marathas all over the Deckan. Chikkadevaraja therefore, made common cause, with Khasim Khan, says Wilks, and opened negotiations to buy Bangalore from him.[1]

(5) Sarkar on the basis of Persian Sources states that Khasim Khan marching with all his rapidity came and conquered Bangalore[2] and also believes that in his capture he was fully supported by Chikkadevaraja, the enemy of Shivaji's house.[3]

(6) Kincaid and Parasnis say that Aurangzeb despatched an army to attack Bangalore, still in the hands of the Marathas. "The straits to which Bangalore was soon reduced led Harji Mahadik and Keshav Pingle to forget their jealousis and march to its relief. But in Aug.1687 it fell before the relieving army reached it".[4]

(7) Colonel Read says that Kasim Khan was despatched from the Imperial Camp of Aurangzeb after the reduction of Bijapur in 1686 with instructions to reduce the Marathas. Accordingly Khasim Khan carried fire and sword into the South, dispossessed Bangalore from the Maratha Control and took several Hindu chiefships converting them into Subhas.[5]

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1. History of Mysore Vol.I, pp.110-111. Grant Duff follows closely Wilks in respect of this event (Vol.I, P.350).
2. Aurangzeb Vol. V, P.54.
3. Ibid, P.54, F.N.
4. A History of the Maratha People, P.142; C.S.Srinivasachari follows Kincaid & Parasnis (History of Gingee, P.247).
5. The Baramahal Records, Section I, Management P.7.

The truth of this event is hidden somewhere in these sources stated above. The first three sources agree in stating that the Raja won a brilliant victory over the Moghal General, Khasim Khan at Bangalore. The common knowledge of the situation in which Chikkadevaraja found himself would reveal the improbability and deliberate falsification of history done by the Kannada and Maratha writers.

The reduction of two Muslim impregnable forts namely Bijapur and Golkonda, apart from increasing the reputation and resources had yielded enormous hoards of money, bodies of trained troops and stocks of arms and provisions that had long been accumulated in these capitals. With these equipments, the Emperor of the north, was conducting vigorous operations in the South against the Marathas. It was this mighty Emperor that had despatched Khasim Khan at the head of formidable force to effect the conquest of Bangalore. Would it be ever possible for a tiny chieftain, dwindled in his kingdom and in power to repulse such a mighty General and conquer Bangalore? Was it difficult for a great Emperor who razed to the ground the two Muslim Kingdoms of the Deckan to deal with a petty ruler in case he had risen up in arms against him? Moreover, according to C.Binnapam, he had actively supported Aurangzeb in his attempt to reduce the two Muslim Kingdoms of the Deckan. That means he was the active ally of the Emperor. How could an ally bound by mutual understanding and goodwill suddenly fall upon his general and harbour disloyal feelings and court hostility? Furthermore is that a few years later, Chikkadevaraja undertook to send a goodwill mission under Karanika

Lingaiya to the court of Aurangzeb, which was kindly received and sent back with titles and presents graciously. This pedantic exhibition of the royal authority was most humiliating in the eyes of the Hindus. Let alone his exhibition, the point is if he had been the destroyer of the Moghal element at Bangalore, what was the necessity to send an embassy to the Moghal Court? That apart, if Chikkadevaraja had really put to flight Khasim Khan and conquered Bangalore, would Aurangzeb noted for intolerance, kindly receive the Mysore goodwill mission when it had approached him? No. No.

The truth is this: Khasim Khan who set out from Golkonda in pursuit of the Marathas who had already descended into the southern region under Kesav Pant and Santaji, came and occupied Bangalore, still in the hands of the Marathas finally hoisting the imperial banner on the ramparts of the fort on the 10th July 1687 and encounting no opposition. On the other hand, Chikkadevaraja, a clever diplomat, realising the seriousness of the situation liked to be neutral by following the policy of non-interference. Of course, there were more advantages in making common cause with the Mughal General to Chikkadevaraja as Wilk's[1] believed: he could enlist the love and confidence of the Emperor which would enable him to threaten the numerous palegars in the South and secure their submission.

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1. History of Mysore, P.111.

No sooner the news of the arrival of Khasim Khan at Bangalore reached than Harji Mahadik and Keshav Pant had started from Gingee to relieve the fort by patching up all their differences of opinion, hatred and jealousies.[1] But the Mughals had already captured Bangalore before the relieving army reached it. Disappointed in their hopes, they returned to Gingee.[2] Khasim Khan became the undisputed master of the Maratha possession, Bangalore. What Ekoji did at this critical position we know not.

Khasim Khan on his part saw that the Raja who had been growing powerful and great would be of immense use to him as an ally; and finding that he himself would be unable to hold Bangalore for any length of time on account of the expeditions he had to make, was prepared to dispose it off to the Raja for a consideration of 3 lakhs of rupees "which the Raja was still willing to pay".[3] Chikkadevaraya now, opened negotiations and purchased Bangalore for the stipulated amount from the hands of Khasim Khan. This is confirmed by the Imperial Gazetteer which says: "Venkoji had agreed to sell Bangalore to the Mysore Raja for 3 lakhs of rupees. But Khasim Khan first seized it and then carried out the bargain, pocketing the money himself.[4] Transporting this amount in addition to other belongings he had secured during his expedition to Aurangzeb Khasim Khan brought about an amicable arrangement in Bangalore

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1. Kincaid & Parasnis: A History of the Maratha People, P.142.
2. Ibid,
3. Wilks, History of Mysore I, P.111.
4. Imperial Gazetteer, Mysore & Coorg, P.21.

after its conquest from Ekoji and its handing it over to the Raja of Mysore. After the reduction of Golkonda in 21st Sept. 1687, Khasim Khan was appointed the Foujdar of Karnataka with Sira as his capital[1] by Aurangzeb.

Ekoji's death, 1687.

Territorial losses: Hoisting of the Imperial Flag over the ramparts of Bangalore by Khasim Khan, the Moghal General and his ultimate sale of the fortress to the Raja of Mysore for a consideration of three lakhs of rupees with a view to encourage him as a counterpoise against the Marathas did not wake up Ekoji from his apathy to counteract the move. One Maratha territory after the other in Karnataka had slipped away from the hands of Ekoji. On the one side Aurangzeb, the great Moghal Emperor, on the other Chikkadevaraja, the rising sun of Mysore were gobbling up the Maratha possessions in Karnataka. Chikkanayakanahalli, Kandikere and Tyamagondlu fell like an house of cards when Chikkadevaraja marched gallantly against them in 1687. The territorial losses in addition to internal troubles and tribulations seem to have been at work in hastening the death of Ekoji. Towards the end of 1687, Ekoji died at Tanjore.[2]

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1. Wilks: History of Mysore, P.110. F.N; Sarkar: Aurangzeb, Vol.V, P.103.
2. Shivaji Souvenir (P.29) refers to Ekoji's death in 1684; Sarkar (Aurangzeb, Vol.V, P.53, F.N.) refers to it in Jan.1685 and the succession in that year of his son. But Orme (Historical Fragments, P.154)mentions Ekoji's rule at Tanjore in Aug.1687 and Wilks (Vol.I, pp.110-111) states that he was still alive in July 1687. Again an inscription of 1686 (Nayaks of Madura, P.361, No.193) refers to Shahji's conquest of Pudukota country possible during his father's rule. In the absence of any decisive evidence, Ekoji's death may be placed to the end of 1687 subsequent to the acquisition of Bangalore by Khasim Khan in July 1687.

Estimation.

Sarkar says: "A striking illustration of the deliberate falsification of history by later Maratha writers is furnished by the attempt of Chitnis and others to paint Vyankoji as a dull incompetent sluggard, without any noble ambition or martial spirit or even the power to appreciate an able and useful minister like Raghunath Hanumanthe".[1]

This vindication is based on the Persian Source which refers to the gallant fight of Ekoji against the Mughals during Jai Singh's invasion of Bijapur (1665) and the letter of Andre Freire of 1676. The Jesuit letter says:

> "Becoming absolute master of the kingdom(of Tanjore) he seeks to make himself loved by the inhabitants and has already succeeded in it. The justice and wisdom of his government begin to heal the wounds of the preceeding reign and develop the natural resources of this country, one of the most remarkable in all India by the fertility of its lands and the wealth of its production. By repairing the canals and tanks he has fertilised extensive fields uncultivated for years and the last harvest has surpassed all that one had ever seen".[2]

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1. Shivaji and his Times, P.314.
2. Nayaks of Madura, P.280.

Ekoji seemed to have attained to the summit of human happiness and glory. But Sarkar's vindication of Ekoji does not take into account the tyranny of his government and his utter unpopularity towards the end of his rule. Andre Freire's letter of 1678 makes reference to the accumulation of money by Ekoji. It says: "He had gathered treasures from the exploitation of the kingdom of Tanjore".[1] This accumulated wealth was handed over to Shivaji in order to buy back the kingdoms which dried up his treasury.

Ekoji was now filled with remorse. He could not think of food and sleep. For hours together he sat moodily hurried in thought.

Learning the hopeless position of Ekoji, Shivaji wrote an illuminating letter in 1680:

> "Do not become a Bairagi: Throw away dispondency; attend to fasts, feasts and customary usages. Turn your attention to affairs of moment. Raghunath is near you. Consult him on what is most advisable to be done. This is time for performing great actions. Old age is the season to turn Bairagi".[3]

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1. Nayaks of Madura, P.282.
2. Ibid, P.284.

In spite of this warning, Ekoji was not able to wake up from his apathy. Disregarding the invaluable advice, Ekoji inaugurated a reign of terror, the reason for this could be traced to the prevailing political atmosphere which was surcharged with violence and hatred in and outside the kingdom of Tanjore.

Andre Freire's letter supplies us:

> "with the best information of his tyrannical rule. Ekoji plundered all the belongings of the temples and penalised his subjects. "To this tyranny added other disasters. An inundation, less strong in the interior of the country than that of 1677, has wrought horrible ravages on the sea-coast, because it has been accompanied by a terrible gust of wind, carrying the sea beyond its links .... In the villages of the sea-coast alone, more than 6000 persons have been the victims of this disaster".[1]

Britto's letter of 1683 describes the hopeless land revenue administration of Ekoji: Ekoji was taking four-fifths of all the produce. He ordered payment in money, instead of accepting this four-fifths in kind; and as he was careful to fix the price himself, much above that which the owner could realise, it happened that the sale of the whole harvest was never sufficient

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1. Nayaks of Madura, P.290.

to pay the contributions. Accordingly the cultivators were burdened with a crushing debt.[1]

Towards the end of his rule, he became almost a mad cap, loosing all sympathy and kindness towards his subjects upon whose goodwill and understanding, his rule was to be based.

The twenty-three-year eventful reign of Ekoji came to an inglorious end. It was a long tragedy - a story of man battling in vain against an invisible but inexorable fate, a tale of how the strongest human endeavour was baffled by the forces of the age. A strenuous reign of 23 years ends in a colossal failure.

The rule of Ekoji may be conveniently divided into two parts: 1) glorious rule from 1664 to 1680 2) inglorious rule from 1680 to 1687.

Proverbially Man is the compound of both dust and deity. The rule of Ekoji is completely in agreement with this proverb. The 16 years were well spent. They were the years of peaceful and prosperous reign and settled residence at Bangalore and Tanjore. It could be proved evidently from the Persian Sources and Jesuit letter of 1676 stated above.

The second part of his rule (1680-87) ended in a great failure. Slowly but pitilessly his fate works itself out, finally defeating all his efforts. He grew violent and reckless in respect

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1. Nayaks of Madura, P.291.

of his administration. This was mainly due to the costly peace he purchased from the hands of Shivaji to win back his kingdoms. Secondly it was due to his incapacity to face the critical situation in and outside Tanjore. Thirdly the nature was unkind and unsympathetic to him. Fourthly the cost of the wars he waged brought nothing except infamy and unpopularity. Lastly the loss of wealthy possessions namely Bangalore and other surrounding countries - all these combined to create a frustration in his mind which seemed to have been largely responsible to hasten his end in 1687.

Ekoji must be understood against the background which prevailed then. It is very easy to lodge criticisms and condemnations against Ekoji as Maratha Bakhars do; but in doing so, we should not neglect the sober and brighter part of the noblier life he led in the beginning. There is no sense and meaning the Maratha Bakhars praising and glorifying the deeds of Raghunath Pant. He was no saint in money matters and his inability was long revealed when his efforts proved null and void in guiding the prince of Shivaji's house Ekoji. Comparison between two brothers, Ekoji and Shivaji is found to be incongruous and unnecessary for one was working under the Muslims and the other against the Muslims.

Harji Mahadik's plan to conquer Mysore.

When the hopes of the Maratha Generals were foredoomed to disappointments at Bangalore as it was occupied by Khasim Khan, they returned to Gingee, their headquarters, in utter disgrace. Harji Mahadik sent out Keshav Pant and Santaji at the head of 18,000 horse

to devastate Mysore.[1]

Harji Mahadik was not reconciled to Chikkadevaraja's purchase of Bangalore for 3 lakhs of rupees from the hands of a Moghal General, Khasim Khan, the sum which the Raja had agreed to pay to Ekoji. He was unable to take either the stipulated amount from the Raja or Bangalore from the Moghal General.

Ever since 1639, the light of independent Mysore, was burning undimmed at the close proximity of Maratha colonies planted and suplanted by Shahji and his successors. Therefore Harji Mahadik attempted to reduce Mysore into a Maratha Vassalage before the impregnable fort of Golkonda fell into the hands of Aurangzeb[2] who had already set an eye on the conquest of the entire south India. It was with this end in view, Harji Mahadik despatched Keshav Pant and Santaji at the head of 18,000 horse. In September 1687, the detachment of Harji entered the Mysore territory.

Chikkadevaraja, by purchasing Bangalore from the hands of the Moghal General had cemented the friendship with the Moghals whose support remained a perennial source of encouragement for his policy of territorial conquest. Getting the scent of the Maratha's approach, he made tremendous preparations to encounter the army.

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1. Kincaid and Parasnis: A.H.M.P., P.142. Grant Duff: History of the Maharattas (Vol.I, P.350) says that these Generals descended into Mysore directly from Bangalore, their ambition being frustrated to take Bangalore.
2. Kincaid and Parasnis: A.H.M.P., P.142.

Apratima Vira Charitha, a work on rhetoric says that in the decisive engagement that took place between the two armies, the Marathas had completely lost their way.[1] Highly elated at the success, the Mysoreans sarcastically cried out pointing to the Marathas:

> Oh! Marathas, leave the Mysore territory. This is not either Bhaganagar or Bijapur for your game of fight."

Grant Duff says that "they entered the country of Mysore, where they levied contributions and remained several months but made no permanent conquests".[3] Maratha version is that Keshav pant plundered Mysore.[4]

Contrary to the expectations of Harji Mahadik, Golkonda fell into the hands of Aurangzeb on 21st Sept.1687 who was now able to employ bodies of trained troops, stocks of arms and provisions that had long been accumulated in the capital against the declining fortunes of Maratha possessions in the South. Khasim Khan who had been appointed as the Foujdar of Karnatic with Sira his capital was now ready in the field according to the orders of Aurangzeb, along with Asad Khan. The latter with the help of 6000 Moghal horse had plundered the country from Masulipatam to the Palar river.

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1. A.V.C., III, Stan. 130: Seṇasi Mahisūra Bhaṭarōl poṇardhaḷidar polabugeṭṭu māyi Marāttar.
2. Ibid, V.183: Yelele Marāṭarira nīm tolatolagim Bhāgānagara Vijayāpurada nelanaltidb nimmāṭake polanalta pratima Vīra-nidhareyolgum.
3. History of Maharattas Vol.I, P.350.
4. Marathi Riyasat, Part 2., P.91.

The Golkonda Governor of Cuddapah had accepted service under the Mughals; and the Hindu rulers of Conjeevaram and Poonamalle (to the west of Madras) were ready to follow the foot prints of the Governor. The latter held that "the world was constantly turning on its axis and altering the side which it presented to the sun and it was not strange that an inhabitant of the world should follow so excellent an example". There was no unity among the Marathas to bar the paths of the Moghal advance. At this critical position Harji Mahadik saw no alternative except recalling of Kesav Pant from Mysore and ordering him to attack the coast districts between the North Pennar and the Palar rivers occupied by the Moghal generals.[1]

This invasion of Mysore by the Maraatha generals was without any tangible consequence fatal either to Mysore or to the Maratha powers in the South. It was only a passing incident in the great grand game of territorial aggrandisements between Mysoreans and the Marathas.

Defeat of Piddi Nayak of Vaginigiri.

After the reduction of Bijapur (12th Sept.1686), Aurangzeb appointed his own governor and other officers and made the Adil Shahi Kingdom a regular Subah of the Moghal Empire. His generals were sent to different parts of the conquered kingdoms to maintain peace and order. Several chieftains of the Bijapur kingdom never reconciled to the imposition of Moghal authority over them. Though it was necessary to put down such

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1. Kincaid and Parasnis: P.142; Grant Duff: Vol.I, P.350.

rebels on the point of sword to maintain peace and order, Aurangzeb could not take it up unless Golkonda was surrendered. Therefore it was only after the surrender of Golkonda, the imperialists could extend their arms into these provinces.[1]

Linganna Kavi says:

> "While Aurangzeb had been deliberating on the complete extermination of the Marathas, Piddi Nayaka, the Bijapur Vassal of Vaginigiri had became powerful".[2]

Vaginagiri was a walled village near Sagar,[3] situated in the fork between the Krishna and Bhima.[4] Piddi Nayaka, the Berad chieftain was a powerful general, commanding 12,000 cavalry and 1,000 infantry. With this well-equipped army, he felt too much of himself.[5]

Linganna Kavi says that after the fall of Bijapur "Piddi Nayaka sent detachments under his able general Kam Bakh (the text reads Kamiya Bakha), annexed to his principality several territories belonging to Bijapur and still had been carrying war in those regions".[6] "Having heard this news of the disturbances of this refractory chieftain, Aurangzeb became furious".[7] From this account,

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1. Sarkar: Aurangzeb. Vol.IV, P.387. Sarkar calls him Pid Nayak.
2. Ke.N.V., IX, P.164: Avarangazēba pātuśāhanāreyara mūlachchēdanamam māḍalvēlkendālōchaneyam rachisuvanitaroḷittam, Vāginigiriyolirda Vijāpurada talavāra Piḍḍi Nāyakam prabalanāgi.
3. Grant Duff: History of the Mahrattas, Vol.I, P.345.
4. Sarkar: Aurangzeb, Vol.IV, P.387.
5. Ibid, P.388. Grant Duff calls him Pem Naik (History of the Marahttas, Vol. I, P.345).
6. Ke.N.V., IX, P.164: Piḍḍi Nāyakam Kāmiya Bakhananam teralchisi kaḷuhi Vijāpurada kelavu sīmegaḷam vaśangaydu matham kelavu sīmegaḷanā kramisuttam baral.
7. Ibid, P.164: Avarangazēbanīvartheyam kēḷdu ātōpadindam.

it is clear that Aurangzeb's anger was not so much against piddi Nayak's military aid rendered to Bijapur and Golkonda during their siege by the imperialists as has been believed by J.N.Sarkar,[1] but against his own aggressive attitudes in seizing as much of Bijapur territories as possible.

Aurangzeb set out in person, reached Vaginigiri and demanded Navabat"[2] from Piddi Nayaka.

On refusal, Aurangzeb declared war and conquered the whole vaginigiri without difficulty.[3] Piddi Nayaka, submitted and gave up his fort on 28th November 1687.[4]

Moghal conquest of Bangalore May 1688.

After the defeat of Piddi Nayaka, a powerful ruler of Vaginigiri, Aurangzeb sent many of his generals with instructions to effect the conquest of several countries in the Karnatak, which were once parts and parcels of Bijapur kingdom.[5]

Among them, prince Azam was ordered to go to south-western corner of Bijapur kingdom. Obedient to the orders of the Emperor, Prince Azam set out with 40,000 veteran cavalry to the South.[6] At the head of this disciplined cavalry, Prince Azam made a sudden

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1. Aurangzeb, Vol.IV, P.388.
2. Ke.N.V., IX, P.164: "Avarangzēbam .... teraldayathanada Vāginiyagiriya Navabattam kēldu. Grant Duff: (H.O.M. Vol.I, P.345) and Sarkar (Aurangzeb, IV, P.388) believe that Aurangzeb sent his general Khanazad to reduce Vaginigiri to submission.
3. Ke.N.V., IX, 164.
4. Sarkar: Aurangzeb, Vol.IV, P.388.
5. For various generals being sent out by Aurangzeb see Sarkar's Aurangzeb, Vol.IV, P.389.
6. Sarkar: Aurangzeb, Vol.IV, P.390.

dash into the kingdom of Bednur. Ishwaradas Nagar whom Sarkar uses as the main source of information in his work, says "that Prince Azam conducted a vigorous siege of the Bednur fort for nearly six months till it was submitted. According to Ishwardas Nagar, Channamma Rani submitted to the Moghals at the end. From there Prince Azam marched to Bangalore. Ishwardas Nagar says:

> "Prince Azam conquers Bangalur (Bangalore)[1] from Sayyid Muhammad, after 3½ months of campaigning (May 1688)".[2]

Who was ruling Bangalore at that time was an important question to tackle with. It has already been pointed out that in 1687 Chikkadevaraja purchased Bangalore from Khasim Khan for a consideration of three lakhs of rupees and as such Chikkadevaraja ought to have been the ruler of Bangalore. But Ishwardas says that it was under the control of Sayyid Muhammad, from whom Azam conquered.

It is very interesting to note that though Chikkadevaraja had been the purchaser of Bangalore, he had not become the ruler of it. On the contrary his authority over Bangalore was recognized for name's sake; and for all practical purposes Khasim Khan was the defacto ruler. Khasim Khan converted Bangalore into a Moghal

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1. Sarkar (Aurangzeb, Vol.IV, P.390) calls Bangalore as Belgam which is wrong.
2. Sarkar: Aurangzeb, Vol.IV, P.410, Appendix on Ishwardas Nagar's Narrative of Events, 1685-90. Unfortunately we have no reference in kannada source to this point of event.

base from where the Moghals could pounce upon any Karnatak chieftain in case he would rise up in arms against the Imperial authority.[1] Therefore it is probable that to signify the Moghal authority over Bangalore, Khasim Khan might have posted Sayyid Muhammad as its Governor.

It was the policy of Khasim Khan to conquer the Hindu principalities of Mysore and convert them into Moghal centres. To this effect we have got an inscription from Doddaballapur which says that "in the 32nd year of the reign of Aurangzeb Alangir Badshah the fort of Balapura Kariyatu was in the hands of Sambha family (referring no doubt to Sambhaji). Through the exertions of Khasim Khan, Foujdar of Karnatak province of the Bijapur Subah, it then passed from the hands of Sambadud son of Sivadud Maratha and came into the possession of the Supreme Government".[2]

This statement leads us to say that as Doddaballapura, a Maratha possession was transformed ~~itself~~ into a Moghal dependency through the exertion of Khasim Khan, so also Bangalore, a dependency of the Mysore kingdom was made a point of Moghal communication in the South by the same Governor. This Bangalore was conquered by Prince Azam in May 1688. Bangalore which was the centre of Maratha activities was now captured by the Moghals. Thus the Moghals had started a fearful campaign to capture the Maratha

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1. See C.Hayavadana Rao: History of Mysore, Vol.I, P.307.
2. E.C.Vol.IX, DB. 31, P.66, text 82; Arch.Rep. of Mysore for 1906, P.5.

strongholds and convert them into basegrounds for their future convenience.

Capture and Execution of Sambhaji, 1689.

Sambhaji had gathered a large number of troops after the fall of Bijapur and reduced to submission all the country south of Panhala. The aggressive attitude of Sambhaji roused the Emperor to a lively consciousness that his gigantic efforts to reduce the impregnable forts of Bijapur and Golkonda had indirectly helped Sambhaji merely to enlarge his own possessions.[1] Losing control over his senses "Aurangzeb swore that he would never return to Delhi until he had seen the head of Sambhaji weltering at his feet".[2]

On the other hand Aurangzeb's spy, Kavi Kalasa was speedily working to bring about the ruin of Sambhaji by communicating all the schemes and movements of Sambhaji to his Imperial Majesty through spies.[3] Born and bred in the Gangetic valley, Kalasa found it unpleasant and uncomfortable to live in Raygad which was exposed to violent monsoons. He requested the Raja most humbly to change the place from Rayagad to Sangameswar, 22 miles north east of Ratnagiri city where he laid out fine gardens and built nicely decorated mansions for his master. If Sambhaji lingered on

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1. Kincaid & Parasnis: A.H.M.P., pp.142-144.
2. Orme: Historical Fragments, P.201.
3. Ke.N.V., P.159, Stanza 73: Kabji gūdāchārara mukhadindam Tamraskapagihadanam tiluhi.

in Raygad turning deaf ear to the suggessions of his favourite Kalasa, the Maratha independence would have endured long. But the ill-fated prince was not able to get away from the grip of powerful Kalasa.

He meekly followed Kavi Kalasa to Sangameswara where he passed the monsoon of 1688. In the midst of beauties, he forgot the duty.[1] Above all by the grace of Kavi Kalasa, Sambhaji went to the extent of abducting a comely bride of a Maratha noble on the way to join her husband.[2] It was at a time when he had lost himself in low tastes that Kavi Kalasa had sent instructions to Aurangzeb through his special spies to march on Sangameswara.[3]

Having learnt the inactivity of Sambhaji in Kavi's chosen hiding-place, Aurangzeb had summoned a reputed general, Shaiku Nizam[4] and secretly instructed him to capture Sambhaji.[5] Kincaid and Parasnis say (that his son, Iklas Khan and other nephews also followed him.[6]

"Starting from Kolhapur with his Iklas Khan, his nephews and two or three thousand horsemen he rode at full speed for Sangameswar". Keladi Nripavijaya says: Shaiku Nizam started with a

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1. Kincaid and Parasnis, A.H.M. People, P.145.
2. Orme, Historical Fragments, P.107.
3. Ke.N.V., P.159, Stan. 73.
4. He was one who had deserted the cause of Abu Husain of Golkonda during its seize and joined Aurangzeb who elevated him to the command of 5000 horse as a reward for his treachery - (Kincaid & Parasnis: P.146).
5. Ke.N.V., P.159, V.74: Anitarolittam tāmranānāranmam barisi gopyadōl Sheikuniza mananaide kalupidam Bhōm kane nim Sambhāji rājanam tahudemuta.
6. A.H.M. People, P.146.

considerable force of army and reached Panhali without alighting at any place".[1]

Proceeding with rapid marches Shaik Nizam arrived in Pannali and bribed heavily all the guards of the gates. He entered in at the guidence of Kavi Kalasa and captured Sambhaji while he was playing with the virgins on the bank of the river of Sangameshwara.[2] Shaiku Nizam with Sambhaji as captive, and Kavi Kalasa started his victorious procession towards Aurangzeb's camp.[3] On 1st Feb. 1689[4] Kavi Kalasa was mainly responsible for the capture of Sambhaji who, would have remained safe at Raigad which when strongly fortified with arms and ammunitions would prove impregnable. Sambhaji's absorption in debauch was mainly due to the influence that Kavi Kalasa exerted on him. Introduction of succession of lascivious women to him made him extremely negligent towards the affairs of the state and with the result more and more powers of the Maratha dominions began to concentrate in the hands of Kavi Kalasa who made use of it to achieve his end. The compulsion on the part of Kavi Kalasa to exchange the shelter of Raygad for the comforts of Sangameswar was pregnant with design

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1. Ke.N.V., P.159, V.75.
2. Ibid, V.76: Intāshekunizamam (pouju) verasati kshipradōl Pannāḷiyam sārdu tattadvāra kaṇḍi kanivegalam kaydirpa Bhatharge Hēraḷaparidhānamanittu Kabjiya sankētadindoḷa pokku madana-bhrāntiyim maymaredemdinanthe Sangamēshwarada nadi tīradōl strījanarverasu jalakēli vinōdadim viharisutirpa Sambhāji-rājanam piḍidu. See and compare Kincaid and Parasnis; A.H.M. People, pp.146-147.
3. Ibid, P.159, V.76.
4. Shivaji Souvenir, P.31. Kincaid and Parasnis give 28th Dec. 1688, which needs revision.

dangerous to the life of Sambhaji who was unable to scent it as he was too much preoccupied with magic and incantation of the former. Thus Kavi Kalasa dug the grave of Sambhaji.

<u>Tragic death</u>:- As soon as this brilliant feat of arms of Shaiku Nizam was communicated to Aurangzeb at Akluj,[1] his joy knew no bounds. The curtain of terror lifted from his heart. With the utmost satisfaction of completing the intended task, he determined to return to Delhi. He at once left Akluj and proceeded to Bahadurgad where the captives were brought under the guard of Hamiduddin Khan.[2] By the orders of the Emperor, the king was made the object of public laughter. He was dressed as buffoon and paraded to a distance of four miles to his encampment, the two lines of the road were crowded with multitude of both sexes gazing at the ill-fated Emperor of the Marathas.[3]

Aurangzeb influenced by the advice of his nobles was prepared to spare Sambhaji's life on three conditions that he should surrender all his forts; reveal all his hidden treasures; disclosing names of the Moghals who supported him loyally. These suggestions were vehemently rejected by Sambhaji.[4] Then he moved his camp to

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1. Akluj is on the north of the river Nira.
2. Grant Duff writes that the Emperor had by this time moved to Tulapur. Scott's Deccan gives Bahadurgad. Kincaid and Parsanis (P.147 F.N.1) say on the basis of Khafi Khan Akluj was the place where the captives were brought. Sardesai (Vol.I, P.314) says that they were seen by Aurangzeb at Bahadurgad which seems to right.
3. Kincaid & Parasnis: A.H.M. People, P.148; Sardesai: A.N.H.M. Vol.I, pp.314-315.
4. Sardesai: N.H.M., Vol.I, P.315; Kincaid and Parasnis: A.H.M.P. P.148.

Tulapur. Linganna Kavi writes:

> "Aurangzeb sent word through one of his trusted officers to Sambhaji asking him to salute the emperor which was vehemently refused".[1]

This is confirmed by Ishwardas's narrative which says that Sambhu refused to bow to the emperor, though urged to do so.[2]

Secondly the emperor sent Sambhaji a message that even yet he would spare his life if he accepted Islam. Sambhaji, meeting the message at its own level scornfully replied that if the emperor was prepared to hand over his daughter, Begum to him, he would turn Musalman. This reply enraged Aurangzeb who immediately ordered the execution of Sambhaji.[3] Sambhaji and his other prisoners were tortured to death on March 11th 1689.[4]

Like Charles I of England, the last moments of life brought to light, the hidden nobility and greatness of Sambhaji. He faced his torture with a fortitude rare even in the annals famous for its savagery.

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1. Ke.N.V., P.159, V.76: Tanage salāmam māḍalendu Sambhāji rājange pēḷisal avanīmatanangīkarisadiral.
2. Ishwardas Nagar's Narrative of Events as cited in Sarkar's Aurangzeb, Vol.IV, P.402, F.N.
3. Ke.N.V., P.159, V.76: Musalmānanādode bittape - nalladoḍājnegaisiolapanendu pēḷisal kēḷdu tanna putri Bēgamuvanittoḍe tām musalmānanādapenenalā mātam kēḷdatyanta kōpāṭōpadim Sambhājiya shirachchēdanangaiyal. For the painful torture of Sambhaji see Sardesai, Vol.I, pp.315-316; Kincaid and Parasnis, P.149; Edward Scott Waring, pp.118-119.
4. Sardesai: N.H.M., Vol.I, P.315; Shivaji Souvenir, P.32.

In conclusion it may be said that the relationship between Ekoji of Tanjore and Chikkadevaraja of Mysore had never been friendly. Ekoji's determined efforts to safeguard the interests of the Marathas not only in the regions lying to the north east of Mysore but also in the environs lying to the south of Mysore, proved failure. He came in support of Sambhaji when the latter sacked Mysore but was completely defeated and disgraced by Chikkadevaraja. Seeing a dangerous neighbour in Chikkadevaraja, Ekoji resolved to sell away Bangalore, to the highest bidder. When the transactions of business in respect of Bangalore were going on, Khasim Khan, the Moghal Commander captured Bangalore without shedding even a drop of blood. On hearing the news of his arrival at Bangalore, the Marathas proceeded by forced marches to drive out the Moghals, but they had to retrace their steps from Bangalore achieving nothing tangible. Foiled in his attempts, Ekoji died in Tanjore towards the end of 1687.

The two devastating expeditions of Sambhaji into the kingdom of Mysore were pregnant with consequences fatal to the unity of south India in general and Mysore in particular. When the first collision under the leadership of Sambhaji met its disastrous defeat at the hands of Chikkadeva in the celebrated battle of Banavara, Sambhaji shifted the theatre of the war to the southern provinces of Mysore where the interest of the Marathas was predominent. The ultimate result of the campaign was that Chikkadevaraja was compelled to sue for peace.

In the next campaign (1686) Sambhaji devastated the kingdom of Mysore and struck terror into the hearts of Chikkadevaraja whose position of ascendency in Madura - as its protector was in great jeopardy. Further the discontented subjects of the king of Mysore had helped enormousaly in the destructive policy of Sambhaji in Mysore. With the assistance of the Chieftains of Morasa, Tigula, Coorg, Malayala as well as the discontented malcontents of Mysore prpper, Sambhaji burst on Srirangapatna, the capital city of Mysore. But misfortune surprised him to sustain utter discomfiture at the hands of Chikkadevaraja. The Allies were disgraced and driven out; Sambhaji retreated achieving nothing tangible in the kingdom of Mysore. Therefore the Mysore Maratha relations under Sambhaji were quite unsatisfactory. The traditional policy of hostility continued unabated between the two houses of Mysore and Maharashtra viewed in the larger interest of the need for friendly inter-state relations, the policy of hostility was neither honourable nor beneficial to either of the two Hindu States, Mysore and Maratha.

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CHAPTER XIII.

Mysore Maratha Relations under Rajaram. (1689-1700).

Political situation in Maharashtra: On the capture of Sambhaji by the Moghals, the grand edifice of the Marathas built up and nurtured by Shivaji and his father seemed to fall to pieces. All the top ranking leaders of the Maratha Kingdom instantly convened a council with Yesu Bai as its president. Santaji Ghorpade and Dhanaji Jadev also took part in the talk along with others. The great grand council unanimously decided to enthrone the boy-prince, Shivaji as the king, with Rajaram, the younger brother of Sambhaji the regent, after releasing him from the nominal confinement at Raygad. Consequent upon his selection, Rajaram rose up and delivered an inspiring and effective speech calling upon all those that gathered there to forget anger and resentment of Sambhaji and to render to the prince whole-heartedly the selfless loyalty that the nation owed to his great name sake.[1]

Linganna Kavi writes that Sambhaji's brother Rajaram was proclaimed the king.[2]

Rajaram was respected by the people as Bharata. As Bharata remained loyal to his brother Rama famed in Ramayana, so

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1. Kincaid and Parasnis: A.H.M.P., P.153; Sarkar: House of Shivaji, P.235.
2. Ke.N.V., P.160, V.77: Nere tatsāmbhājiya sōdaranenisuva Rāmarājanurupattavananthu.

also Rajaram remained faithful to Shahu. In fact Rajaram refused to be crowned.[1]

Rajaram left Raigad along with his followers and established himself at Pratapagad. While Rajaram was residing at Pratapagad, Santaji with a few selected followers made a daring raid on the camp of Aurangzeb himself at Koregaun. They fell upon his tent, cut down the supporting ropes, killed the inmates including, as was first supposed, emperor himself. Fortunately the Emperor was sleeping, by chance, in his daughter's tent and thus escaped death.[2] Santaji was one of the best generals of the age. In the words of J.N.Sarkar, "Santaji Ghorpade and Dhanaji Jadhav were the two stars of dazzling brilliancy which filled the Deccan firmament for nearly a decade".[3]

In the meanwhile Raigad was captured along with Yesu Bai and Shivaji by Zulfikar Khan on November 3rd 1689[4] after a siege of 8 months. When this disaster fell on the main Royal house, all the Marathas, big and small rose up in one voice and vowed to avenge the humiliation done to them by the Moghals till the last drop of their blood. Thus the people's war had begun. When misfortune winked at Maharashtra, a band of patriots, trained in the school of Shivaji the Great rose up in arms and resolved to drive

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1. Rajaram Charitam, pp. 9-10.
2. Kincaid & Parasnis: A.H.M.P., pp.154-155.
3. House of Shivaji, P.235.
4. Shivaji Souvenir, P.

out Aurangzeb's armies back to Hindusthan and secure their national independence.[1]

The cruelties shown by Aurangzeb to Sambhaji shocked all the south and the Hindus of the south resolved to unite against - devilish cruelties of the Muslims.[2]

In the meanwhile a Moghal force descended into Pratapgad by the orders of Aurangzeb to exterminate Rajaram and his followers but very soon Rajaram left the place with his men and provisions and took up the residence at Panhala. From there he had determined to govern the entire Maratha kingdom powerfully and efficiently.[3]

This change of place did not fail to disillusion the Emperor and prove that the Maratha monarchy was not yet dead. In order to nip the revival of the Maratha royal power in Panhala in the bud, the Emperor soon despatched Abdull Khan and a band of Vazirs with orders to invest Panhala and to capture the fort along with the king, Rajaram.[4] Making tremendous preparations the Moghal horsemen started their march and arriving near the fort, at once laid siege to it.[5] The Moghals secured the surrender of the fort after a bitter struggle. At that critical situation Rajaram realising the unwisdom of staying in an insecure place decided to leave the place.[6 a.]

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1. Ranade: The Rise of Maratha Power, P.178.
2. Sardesai's Riyasat, P.32.
3. The Rise of Maratha Power.
4. Ke.N.V., P.160, V.77: Rāmarājanuru pattavananthurupannāliyolālu-ttirutire shouryātishayadōlavanītalavam.
5. Ke.N.V., P.160, V.78: Here Rajaram is called Ramaraja.
6. Ibid, P.160, V.79.

6a. Ke.N.V., 160, V.80: Anuchita millihudendenutum tadrāmarājanallim teraldu.

This decision found a complete support at the hands of his councils of officers who admonished him to cling to strategic plan of Shivaji, that is to abandon Maharashtra which was floating on the troubled sea of politics due to savage robbery, and brigandages of the Moghals; and to take up his residence at Gingi from where blow after blow could be delivered against the Moghal communications stretching from Poona to the Karnatak with the help of the Maratha field-army cantoned at Gingi. This was supported by famous Rama Chandra Pant who appealed to the people of the South to take up arms against inhuman and outlandish invaders. So it became a people's war against invaders. The result was that the Moghal had to fight on a front extending 700 miles from Burhanpur to Trichinopoly.[1] Rama Chandra Amatya was entrusted with the responsibility of resisting the Moghal advance to the extent possible taking up his residence in the western Deccan. Rajaram was escorted to Gingi by Prahlad Niraji who was now the chief counsellor and by a number of reputed captains including Dhanaji Jadav and Santaji Ghorpade. Rajaram started from Panhala about 30th June 1689[2] with his followers.

<u>Condition of Karnatak in 1689</u>: The year 1689 was not a propitious year for the Karnatak. The roads were infected with robbers; and travelling was not happy. The whole Karnatak was given to plunder

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1. Sardesai's Riyasat, P.33. See also Rajaram Charitra, P.22. Kincaid & Parasnis, pp.157-158.
2. Sarkar: History of Aurangzeb, Vol.V, pp.23-24. As regards the date, Sarkar writes: "Rajaram fled from Raigarh to Pratapgarh on 10 Chaitra Badi (=5th April 1689), issued from Panhala on 8th Ashwin Badi (= 25th September) and reached Vellor on 11 Kartik Badi (= 28th October). The initial and final dates are correct but in the middle one I suggest Asharh for Ashwin (thus getting 30th June for the departure from Panhala), because it is hardly possible for a man to cover the 500 miles from Panhala, via Bednur to Vellore in 32 days (26th Sept - 28th Oct.) that

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and pillage by the armies of Moghal and Marathas alike. The situation in Karnataka adversely reacted upon by the situation in the Telingana coast immediately north of it, where a great famine was raging in the Vizagapatam district and frequent wars were going on between the new Moghal foujdar and local rajahs.[1]

<u>Conquests of Chikkadevaraja:</u> In Mysore, Chikkadevaraja who had the ambitious desire of enlarging his kingdom had plundered the dominions of the Marathas and other palegars in the south and the east. Chikkaiya of Sankagiri subordinate Vassal of Chikkadevaraja had performed feat of great valour and dexterity by attacking Avaniperur, Arasaravani and Hoskote which were held by Shahu II the son of Ekoji at Tanjore and securing their surrender in June 1688.

Manu Gonde durga, Vamalur and Dharmapuri which were the chief acquisitions of Ekoji of Tanjore were conquered one after another consequent on the confusion that followed the death of Ekoji towards the end of 1687 and the accession of his son Shahu II.

(continued from previous page)

Z.S. gives to this journey. Moreover we know from the contemporary imperial history Masir-i-Alamgiri (328) that Rajaram went through many adventures after leaving Panhala; he was overtaken by the Moghals on an island in the Tungabhadra on the frontier of Bednur, escaped from the ring of his enemies, and was concealed by the Rani of Bednur and subsequently allowed to go away. A week or two of time must be allowed for these causes of delay, but Z.S's dates leave no room for them in the last part of Rajaram's journey. Chitnis's itinerary of Rajaram (ii. 26-31) seems to me to be imaginary & of no value.
Shivaji Souvenir (P.32) gives the following dates:
Saka 1611, Chaitra, Krishna 10, Friday (5th April 1689) Rajaram fled to Pratapgad. Aswin Krishna '8, Thursday (26th Sept.1689). Rajaram rode from Panhala and reached Vellore on Kartik Krishna 11, (28th Oct.1689), thence he went to Gingee.

1. Madras Diary, 25th March 1689.

In 1689, Gurikara Lingarajaiya, the Viceroy of Chikkadevaraja at Coimbatore conquered Kaveripattana, Kunturdurga and incorporated them to the Mysore kingdom, Paramathi being taken before their siege. Ananthagiri was secured from the hands of a Maratha officer namely Ghoraji.[1] Thus these years, 1688 and 1689 were not happy years to the Marathas and their possessions. The death of Ekoji seems to have given a signal to Chikkadevaraja of Mysore for his territorial conquests who gratified his ambition by securing surrender of territory after territory without encountering any serious opposition. Though Chikkadevaraja rejoiced at this success, the country at large suffered heavily. The frequent movements of the Mysore army and skirmishes and alarms had disturbed the pendulam of the tranquillity of the Mysore kingdom.

Rajaram in Bednur: On the other hand, Rajaram and his chief officers split themselves into two parties; disguised themselves as religious pilgrims and started from different routes in order to avoid the vigilance of the Moghal officers who were strictly warned by the Emperor to watch the movements of the Marathas. Passing by the difficult and narrow route of Sahyadri, they arrived at Sonda. Taking rest there for some time they proceeded further South in the direction of Bednur.[2]

Bednur which is alsocalled Ikkeri was an important kingdom rising into greatness and glory under the able and cautious rule

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1. Annals, I. pp.107-108; Wilk's I, P.227; C.Bin., pp.58-59; Gi. Go., 38-39; also see and compare Capt. Alexander Read in Baramahal records (1907), I. P.137 mentioning some of these conquests.
2. Kincaid & Parasnis: A.H.M.P., P.158.

Channammaji wife of Somesekhara Nayaka. Her rule from 1671 to 1696[1] forms an important period in the history of Ikkeri.

It was to this rising kingdom that Rajaram and his followers came,[2] on their way to Gingi. Arriving near Ponnali from Panhala Rajaram despatched some of his important men to the court of Channammaji seeking her help. Presenting themselves at the court, they revealed Channammaji as to why they had been flying from place to place being chased by the Moghal army and finally implored the help of the Rani for their escape from her kingdom to Gingi unnoticed, unperceived, by the Moghal officers.[3] Channammaji who was chivalrous and sympathetic immediately convened a Council of important Ministers such as Kolivadada Bommaiya and Siddabasavaiah, (Minister for finance) and others and decided that it was impolitic and unjust to deny protection and shelter to a refugee king when he had come voluntarily for it. Her determination was so noble and firm that she did not like to alter it even at the cost of her kingdom in case it was invaded by the Moghal Emperor in vengeance. Accordingly, Rajaram and his followers were disguised and were escorted by the Rani's men up to Vasudhare passing across the Gajanur river and through Borenedehalli, Aduvalli, Kalasa and Khandya.

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1. Ke.N.V., IX, P.131.
2. Sarkar: House of Shivaji, P.236; Kincaid and Parasnis: A.H.M.P. P.158.
3. Ke.N.V., IX, P.161, V.82: Shivājiya putranenippa Rāmarājam Pannāliyam palāyanambadedaidi Ponnāliyam pokku tanaitandu pokka vrittāntamellamam Channammājiya vargaruhisi Mogalarge gōcharamāgadantu nimma gadirājyadim tannam Chandige dāntisi kodalvēlkendu bahu prakāradim pēlisal. Kincaid and Parasnis (A History of the Maratha People, P.158) say: "they (Rajaram & his followers went to Bednur where the Rani, a feudatory of the Maratha king, welcomed the fugitives". This is wrong for Bednur is not a part and parcel of the Maratha kingdom. It has kept up an independent existence for a long time.

Rani Channammaji and the Moghals: Aurangzeb had already detached a regiment of his forces in pursuit of the fugitives. They encamped in the neighbourhood of Bednore perpetrating horrible cruelties, ravages and brigandages. Prominent Vaziers were despatched to the Rani demanding the surrender of the Maratha Prince along with his followers whom she had been entertaining at her court.

Channammaji was taken aback when she heard from the Moghals that she had been hiding the refugee monarch and others, in her capital; but meanwhile, losing no courage and thinking deeply as to what reply would suit the occasion, said that it was true the Maratha Raja had passed through her territory but for the present they were not sojourning in her kingdom.[1]

Informing them thus, she told them also that she was able to take possession of the ornaments and clothes that fell from the Raja while he was flying across her dominion. So saying she handed over to the Moghal Vaziers all the valuables that she had. Getting delivery of these belongings, the Moghal Vazirs wrote a strong letter to Aurangzeb, complaining that the Rani was repugnant to deliver the fugitives from concealment although she had handed over to them all the belongings of the fugitives; and further they had despatched the acquired valuables and surrendered four Maratha captives namely

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1. Ke.N.V., IX, P.161., Vs.83-84:
   84: Kelise Channammājiyu Mālōchisi tamma rāshtrakāgiyavam bi chchālāgi pōdudahuda Ṽāluttirpileyōlillavendaruhisidalu.

Ruppaji Bhosle, Santaji, Jagadaba Manoji, Morasharaja Rao to Aurangzeb with the said letter. The Emperor received them gladly but later on, the despatches roused him to great fury.[1]

Determined on the complete extermination of the Marathas by effecting the capture of Bednur Aurangzeb, ordered his son Azamatara to invade Bednur. At the head of a large army Azamatara proceeded with rapid stride and encamped in the narrow valley of Banditimmayi of Madagadakere. A detachment was sent in advance under the command of Jansara Khan who conquered the fortress of Mahadevapura and Anandapura without encountering any opposition. Finally the two armies encamped near Venupura (Bednur) in the year 1689.[2]

Channammaji was not much dismayed at the news; immediately resorted to prompt action. By collecting a huge army at the fortress of Bhuvanagiri, she despatched it to the fortress of Bidurur where a furious battle was fought inflicting terrible losses on the Moghals. The powerful Moghals were completely destroyed. The paths and valleys where the enemies were hidden were fully blocked; communications were cut off; the enemies were encircled in as in a net and were completely reduced to surrender.[3] Thus Channammaji won a glorious victory over the Moghals.

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1. Ibid., pp.161-162.
2. Ke.N.V., IX, P.162, V.85.
3. Ibid, pp.162-163, Vs.86, 87, 88.
   V.87: Kaggoleyam biddankadōlaggaleyarenippatāthuruskara poujam Nuggunusimādi raṇadōl Maggisi bahumukhade pugisidal Javapuravam.
   V.88: Nerekandikanive pathagaḷa Nurebandhisi baleyoḷam silunkida matsyōtkara menalāgisi tadyavanara sainyava nāji raṅgadōḷ barikaidal.

Channammaji, by pouncing upon the Moghals, had mercilessly slaughtered them by every possible means. Thus the Mughals were forced by her for the conclusion of a treaty with Aurangzeb which speedily brought to an end the atrocious war between Channammaji and the Mughals.[1]

The Portuguese Viceroy in a letter of 1691 describes that Channammaji was forced to sue for peace with the Moghals.[2]

According to Persian Sources the war was waged between the Mughals and the Marathas on the Bednur territory which at last came to a speedy termination by the intervention of Rani Channammaji who purchased peace by paying small ransom.

Masir-i-Alamgiri (P.329) says: "Santa (Santaji) trimphantly opposed them, till at last the matter was settled by the Rani paying a small fine under the name of tribute".[3] Therefore it is clear that Channammaji neutralised the hostility and brought the war to an end only by paying tribute to Aurangzeb.[4]

Now, according to Kannada sources the Marathas had left Bednur before the arrival of the Moghals, but according to non-kannada sources the Marathas were still in Bednur and battle was fought between the Moghals and the Marathas till the matter was

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1. Ke.N.V., IX, P.163, Stan. 89. It is strange that Linganna Kavi describes in stanzas nos. 86, 87, 88 the heavy slaughter perpetrated by Channammaji over the enemy but in stanza 89 he abruptly jumps to describe the conclusion of a treaty. If she had really massacred all Mughals, where was the necessity to conclude peace with Aurangzeb?
2. See Appendix V
3. Sarkar: House of Shivaji, P.236.
4. C.Hayavadana Rao's conclusion (in Mysore History Vol.I P.308) on this point is wrong and therefore has to be revised.

settled by Channammaji. It is most probable that the Rani purchased peace by paying ransom to the Moghals.[1]

Rajaram at Bangalore: After the conclusion of a treaty with the Mughals under Azamatara and Jansara Khan at Bednur, the Marathas started their onward march to the South. On their way, they reached Bangalore which was re-occupied by Khasim Khan, the Mughal foujdar of Karnataka.

The way in which the treatment was accorded to Rajaram by his servants at Bangalore made the Moghal officers suspicious of the party. Fortunately the impending danger was averted by the devoted loyalty of Kondo Ballal Chitnis who advised Rajaram to cling to one route and others to go by another route while himself chose to remain at the spot maintaining successfully his character as one of the pilgrims to Rameswaram in case the party was discovered in their identity by the Moghals. Accordingly Rajaram went one way, and Pralhad Niraji by another route, while some remained pleading their character of pilgrims. When they were subjected to severe torture by the Moghal officers, their loyalty, devotion and faithfulness were such that they never disclosed to them their secracy. The Moghal officers having been convinced of the truthfulness of their tale and the reality of their plea let them all go. Thus the party, after passing through a perilous adventure at Bangalore, got out of it.[2]

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1. Sarkar: House of Shivaji, P.236.
2. Kincaid and Parasnis: A.H.M.P., pp.158-159.

Rajaram at Channapatna: Then Rajaram and his companions frequently feeding with Moghals alarm and danger, continued their march and reached Channapatna safely. By this time much water had flown over and under the bridge on the Moghal side. The Moghal cause suffered a temporary eclipse from the faithlessness of its officers. The old officials of Golkonda whom Aurangzeb permitted to continue in their offices, had proved disloyal; and two of them, Yachama Nayaka and Ismail Maka had revolted against the autocratic authority of Aurangzeb, and deserted the Moghal cause and made an alliance with Rajaram through the mediation of the peshwa Nilo Moreshwar Pingle[1] at Channapatna. Jedhe Sakavali says: "Yacheppa Nair, Ismail Khan, Makav and others, and 4000 cavalry of the Mughals rebelled and interviewed Rajaram through Nilopant at Chenpatan."[2] Rajaram with this big army subdued Channapatna and by posting Ekoji and Sivaji - two Maratha Chieftains for its governance, he descended into further south.[3]

(continued on the next page)

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1. Sarkar: Aurangzeb, Vol.V, P.68.
2. Shivaji Souvenir, pp.32-33.
3. Baramahal Records, Section V, Property 1915, P.1.

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After settling the affairs at Channapatna, Rajaram with only a few followers renewed his march and arrived in Sriranga-patna towards the end of Sept.1689, from there he slipped out crossing the Cauveri river into Gingi, the intended place.

Rajaram passed through Mysore: Edward Scott Waring says: "Rama, upon the murder of his brother, fled, closely pursued by the enemy, to Seringapatam. He effected his escape across the Cauveri with only two of his followers and retired into Gingee".[1] Probably the Mysoreans had lost the sight of these fugitives as they were fleeing under the guise of Lingayat Pilgrims to Rameswaram in order to escape the vigilance of the Moghals. Therefore no event of any serious nature had taken place when the party descended into the heart of the Mysore kingdom.

The arrival of Rajaram in Gingi in October 1689 gave a new life to the Maratha activities in the Deccan much to the disillusion-ment of the Emperor whose schemes at the capture of Rajaram were foredoomed to failure. All the beautiful and gorgeous palace he built in the air about the complete extermination of the Marathas during his life time dashed to the ground when another Maratha kingdom grew in the impregnable fortress of Gingi rising up in arms against him. Ill-luck began to follow him, vigorously working to defeat his endeavours, curb his might, cloud his brain and to throw his schemes to the violent wind.

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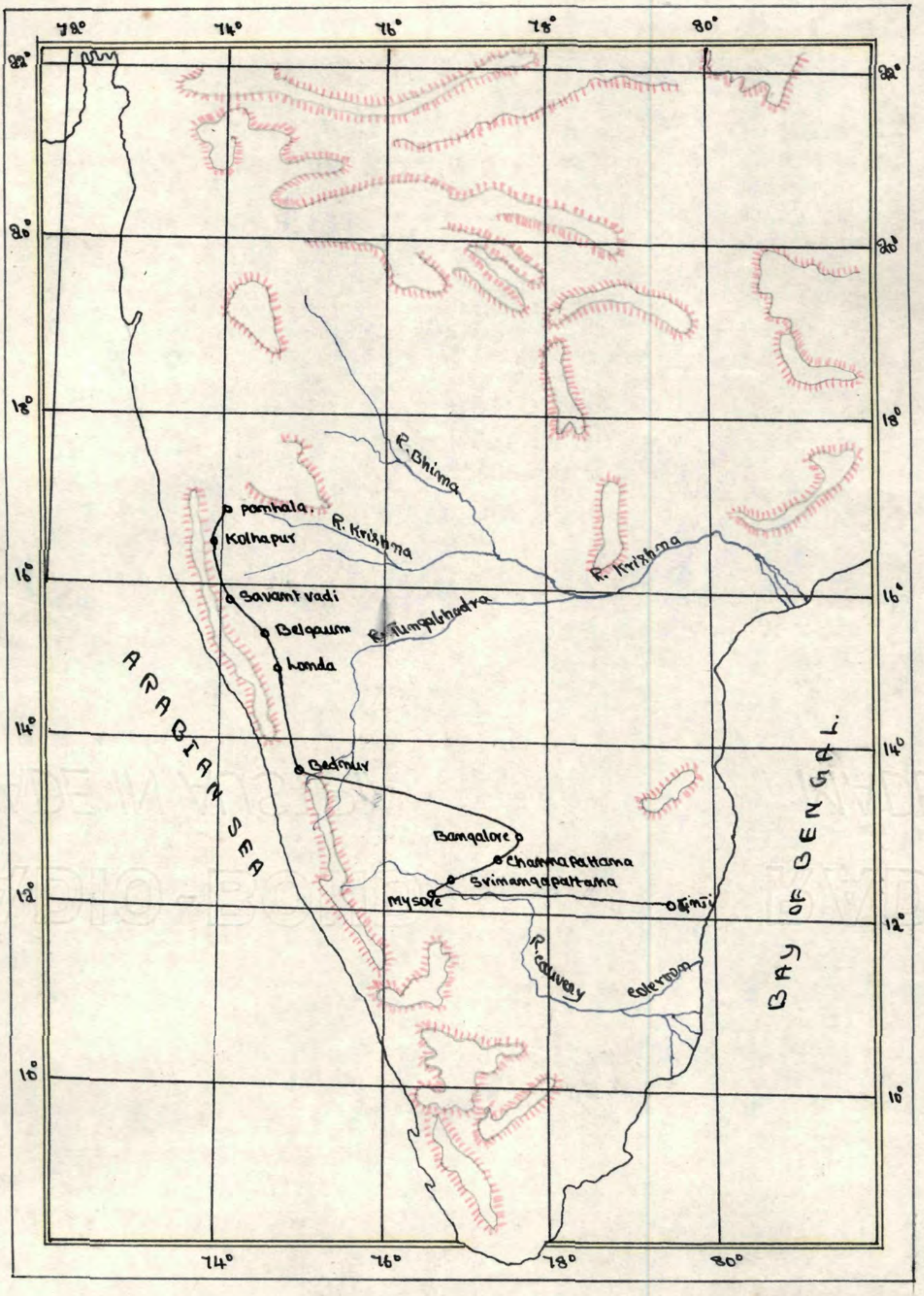
1. A History of the Mahrattas to which is prefixed an Historical sketch of the Deccan (1810) P.119. Chikkadevaraja of Mysore did not take any step to bar their way as he was not able to recognise disguised Marathas. Therefore Kannada sources are silent upon this point.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R. Tungabhadra
Londa
ARABIAN SEA
Bednur
Bangalore
Channapattana
Srirangapattana
Mysore
Jinji
R. Cauvery
Coleroon
BAY OF BENGAL.
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The flight of the defeated rebel across the Deccan into Gingi dragged Aurangzeb to southern India where he was destined to spend the last years of his life in tents and in miserable camps. His sojourn in the south sapped his strength, dried up his treasury, delivered rude shock to his ambitious desire.

Nevertheless he faced all the troubles and tribulations boldly and courageously disliking to budge even an inch from his determined will and resolutions.

Rajaram at Gingi: On the other hand, Rajaram, on his arrival in Gingi felt the necessity of raising a formidable army consisting of local levies of the Deccan chiefs in order to stand as a bulwark against the advancing tide of the Mughal invasion. Factory record says: "Rajaram on his arrival, sent a summon to all in any considerable employment in the government to make their appearance before him." His aim was reported to be "to divert the Mughal army from his kingdom of Gingee and join with several Hindu Nayaks and raise a considerable army to retake the Golkonda and Bijapur kingdom."[1]

On 22nd March 1690 Rajaram from Gingi writes to the Deshmukh of Kari as follows:

> "We have enlisted an arrival in the Karnatak forty thousand cavalry and a lac and a quarter of infantry. The local palegars and fighting elements are fast rallying to the Maratha standard".[2]

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1. Madras Diary, 6th Dec. and 14th Nov. 1689.
2. Vide Pisal papers, Rajwade, III, Nos.56-64 - quoted by Sardesai in his 'New History of the Marathas, Vol.I, pp.328-329.

On the other hand Chikkadevaraja of Mysore turned his attention to the conquest of territories. Early in April 1690 Chikkadevaraja attacked Bagadi and took it from its keeper.[1] Haranahalli and Banavara were wrested from Ikkeri in April-May 1690.[2] The new Dalvoy, Timmappaiya of Kolala,[3] appointed by Chikkadevaraja in June 1690, eclipsed the glory of his predecessors in the line of conquest. At the head of an army, the Dalvoy went, saw and conquered Kadur, Sakrepatna and Vasthare between June and August, Chikkamagalur and Maharajanadurga in August and Hassan and Grama in September, the last two places from Krishnappa Nayaka of Aigur.[4]

On hearing the arrival of Rajaram at Gingee, Aurangzeb changed his camp from Galgali and cantoned at Brahmapuri from where Zulfikar Khan, the son of Asad Khan (one of the ministers of Aurangzeb) was detached at the head of an innumerable forces[5] to lay siege to Gingi at the end of November 1689.[6] Zalfikar Khan marched by way of Raichur, Karnul, Nandiyal, Kadapa and Guaramkonda and

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1. Annals, I, P.108; Mys.Dho.Pur., II. 43; Wilks, I, P.227.
2. Ibid.
3. C.Hayavadana Rao: History of Mysore, Vol.I, Chapter XII.
4. Annals, I. P.108: Mys.Dho.Pur., II, 43-45; A.V.C., III, 71, 79, 143 (referring to the loss of Vasthare by Ikkeri); Wilks, I, P.227.
5. Ke.N.V., IX, P.163, V.89: Rāmarājam Chandiyam pokka varthamānamam Galagaliyim Brahmapuriyamsārda Avarangajēba pāthuśāham kēḷdu balikkam tanna mantriyāda Asat Khānana maga Jalupara Khānanodane hērala sainyamam kūdisi teraḷchal. Sarkar on the basis of Persian sources (Aurangzeb, Vol.V, P.68) says that Zalfikar Khan was detached from the Imperial Court at Koregaon.
6. Sarkar: Aurangzeb, Vol.V, P.68.

descended into the Karnatak plain (about June 1690) capturing many forts on the way.[1] The army that advanced with a lightning speed arrived at Channapatna.

The two important Maratha chieftains named Ekoji and Shivaji who were placed over the Jagadeva Rayalu's territory of Channapatna by Rajaram,[2] heard the news of the encampment of the Moghals and were prepared to face the enemy in an open battle. War was declared. The two armies met and fought stubbornly. At the end Zalfikar Khan inflicted a crushing defeat on the Marathas and subdued the whole Jagadeva Rayal's country.[3]

The success at Channapatna added as a filip to Zalfikar Khan, who by marching with ostentation, arrived in the neighbourhood of Gingi. Early in the month of September 1690,[4] the Khan laid siege to the fort.[5] In order to help Zalfikar Khan, Aurangzeb detached his son Kambaksa with reinforcements.[6] Zalfikar Khan with this additional reinforcements grew strong and had tightened his grip over the fort.

Madras Diary of 26th April 1691 says that the Moghal army

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1. Ibid.
2. Baramahal Records, Section V, Property, 1915, P.1.
3. Ibid. See also P.39 in the same record.
4. Sarkar: Aurangzeb, Vol.V, P.69. C.Hayavadana Rao (History of Mysore Vol.I, P.311) had assigned April 1691 for the arrival of Zalfikar Khan at Gingee for which there is no evidence.
5. Ke.N.V., IX, P.163, V.89: Avanatyantātōpadim teraldaitandu Chandiya gadakke muttigeyanikkal.
6. Ke.N.V., IX, P.163, V.89.

at Gingee had become so large and well-provisioned that the country around expected a speedy fall of the fort.[1]

1691 was a bad year for the Imperialists at Gingi. In reality no progress was done in the siege. It had suffered an eclipse on account of the vigorous activities of the Marathas by cutting of all communication between the imperial camp and Gingi. "Zalfikar reported to the Emperor that the enemy were hemming him round, stopping his supply of provisions and that he needed reinforcements urgently".[2] Thus the year 1691 was not a propitious year for the Moghals and much more so the years of 1692 and 1693.[3] The perilous days of the Moghals were taken advantage of by the Marathas. The arrival of Santaji Ghorpade in the south had lifted up a dark cloud hanging over the heart of Rajaram. Trichinopoly fell into his hands without any difficulty. Rajaram himself arrived there soon afterwards and on 10th April 1693 the Nayak of Trichinopoly concluded a treaty with the Maratha king. But unluckily this success did not last long owing to a bitter quarrel that broke out between Rajaram and Santaji on the question of holding the post of Senapati. The appointment of Dhanaji as the Senapati in the place of Santaji led the latter to get away from Gingi to Maharashtra.[4] The lack of mutual adjustements and accommodations between the two generals namely Santaji and Dhanaji had in a long run, shattered to pieces, the

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1. Sarkar: Aurangzeb, Vol.V, P.73.
2. Sarkar: Aurangzeb, Vol.V, P.74.
3. Ibid, pp.75-76, 76-77.
4. Ibid, pp.78-96.

strong Maratha kingdom to be built up at Gingi by the Maratha genius.

Was it difficult for Zalfikar Khan to capture Gingi? is the question to be considered now. Surely the reduction of Gingi was not a difficult question to Zalfikar Khan as he had received strong reinforcements and provisions from the Emperor which when directed wholly against it, it ought not have been a problem to him. The secret point to note for prolonging it was: that both Rajaram and Zalfikar Khan entered into secret understanding in view of the expected death of Aurangzeb and the inevitable war of succession among his sons, in order to help each other in establishing independent sovereignty in the southern Peninsula.[1] Bound by this secret understanding Zalfikar Khan prolonged the siege. Wilks says:

> "The tedious and ill-conceived siege of this eastern Troy was prolonged for many years, by the treachery, cabals and intrigues of the chiefs and by a secret struggle between a prince of the blood and Zulfecar Khan for the independent sovereignty which each of them had desired to establish in his own person .... The attack and defence were equally a theatrical exhibition, in which the chief actors performed their concerted parts".[2]

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1. Sardesai: A History of the Marathas, Vol.I, P.333; Wilks, Vol.I, P.229.
2. Wilks, Vol.I, P.229.

~~Applauding deeds of Santaji~~: Santaji returned to the north-western corner of Mysore having achieved nothing for his master. In November 1695 Dhanaji was sent to Madras Karnatak in order to save the cause of the Marathas there by repulsing the Moghal contingent under Zalfikar Khan. This he did astonishingly by putting to flight Zalfikar Khan from Vellore.[1]

Khasim Khan defeats Baramappa Nayaka.

After the conquest of Bangalore from the Marathas in 1686, Khasim Khan was appointed the Foujdar of the Karnatak with Sira as his headquarters.[2] He was a resourceful general of the age. He carried fire and swords into the neighbouring principalities and reduced them to submission.[3] For the purposes of convenient administration, the conquered chiefships were converted into and were each placed under an efficient administrator of his own clan. Khasim Khan divided his territories into seven paraganas: Sira, Boodihalla, Basavapatna, Penukonda, Kolar, Hoskote, Dodda-ballapura.[4] Each was placed under a governor or a military officer. Naturally they introduced Moghal administrative system into these districts.[5] With these conquests in the Karnatak, Khasim Khan grew too powerful.

1. Sarkar: House of Shivaji, P.243; Sarkar: Aurangzeb, Vol.V, P.110.
2. Wilks: History of Mysore, Vol.I, P.231.
3. The Baramahal Records, section I,(management), P.7.
4. Ibid, P.7.
5. Ibid, P.37.

Having strengthened his position, Khasim Khan projected his policy of conquest in the Karnatak. The Moghal attack was delivered on Baramappa Nayaka (1689-1719) the palegar of Chitradurga. Khasim Khan at the head of a large Moghal army proceeded and laid siege to Dodderi,[1] which is 22 miles east of Chitradurga. Baramappa Nayaka was shocked to hear the sudden approach of the Moghal army. Being a powerful palegar, he mobilised all his troops, without feeling discouraged, and advanced to meet the besieging army at Dodderi. In the sanguinary action that was fought about 1689, Baramappa Nayaka was completely defeated and driven out of the battle field. All the wealth of Dodderi was plundered and vast amount of booty was carried away by the Mughals. Dodderi became a part of the Moghal kingdom in the Karnatak.[2]

Baramappa's reconquest of Dodderi: Baramappa Nayaka, a mighty general that he was, bore a severe grudge against Khasim Khan for his cruelties and outlandish acts at Dodderi. Plantation of a Moghal colony at Dodderi was a perennial source of danger to the palegar. Recapture of so important a military base as Dodderi from the hands of the Moghals was an urgent necessity; and to achieve this Baramappa laboured not a little. Armies were raised and trained under able military officers; and having made tremendous preparations he set out to reconquer the Moghal base. When Baramappa's army pounced upon the defenceless Dodderi, the unprepared guards were

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1. Dodderi, 14° 21' N., 75° 46' E., in the Chitradurga district of Mysore.
2. Nidagal Arasugala Vamsavali - Karnataka Sahitya Parishad Patrike, 1932, July, P.108.

terror-stricken. In the uproar and shouts of the army, the whole atmosphere was plunged into confusion. The Chitradurga army cut into pieces the guards and made an entry into Dodderi. Thus it was brilliant victory to Baramappa Nayaka.[1]

Struggle between the Moghals and the Marathas in the Karnatak 1695-1700.

Aurangzeb who was cantoning at Brahmapuri, ordered Khasim Khan, trustworthy general and an active governor of the Sira country to bar the paths and turn out the Maratha raiders under Santaji who being pursued by the Moghals turned southwards to Mysore. Khanazad Khan, Saf Shikan Khan, Sayyid Asalat Khan and Muhammad Murad were detached from the imperial camp, in addition to a command of 25,000 men on paper but 5 to 6 thousand troopers in actual muster, in order to help Khasim Khan in his endeavour against the Marathas. The well-equipped and disciplined army chiefly drawn from the Imperial troops marching gallantly reached Khasim Khan about 12 miles from the Maratha's expected tract, early in Nov.1695.[2] Aurangzeb, with this grand arrangements set speedily in motion his plan and felt that his cherished goal would be materialised. But unluckily everything went against his wishes. How Santaji dashed to the ground this grand edifice of the new scheme of Aurangzeb is a marvel in the art of war. Describing the genius of Santaji,

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1. Nidagallu Arasugala Vamsavali - Karnataka Sahitya Parishad Patrike, 1932, July, P.108.
2. Sarkar: House of Shivaji, pp.243-244; Sarkar: Aurangzeb, V, pp.110-111; Sardesai: N.H.M. Vol.I, pp.333-334.

Sarkar says:

"Santaji had an in born genius for handling large bodies of troops spread over a wide area, changing his tactics so as to take prompt advantage of every change in the enemy's plan and condition and organising combined movements."[1]

Khasim Khan, having learnt the arrival of Khanazad Khan for his help, felt that it was his duty to accord a tumultuous welcome befitting his position and the country over which he ruled. In fact Khanazad Khan was a Persian of the highest descent, being the son of the late Paymaster-General, Ruhulla Khan I and great-grand son of the Empress Mumtaz Mahal's sister. Therefore to honour such a distinguished general, Khasim Khan caused to be built a costly tent, decently decorated and neatly furnished with gold silver and China vessals of all kinds. In this gorgeous theatre, he least expected any danger threatening destruction.[2]

On the other hand, Santaji, having learnt the enemy's position and movements, came up with swift marches and skilfully matured his plan for their destruction.

<u>Baramappa supports Santaji</u>: The success of the plan of Santaji was mainly due to the support given by Baramappa Nayaka of Chitradurga. The latter rendered his help for three reasons: 1) He never forgot the cruelties and brigandages perpetrated by Khasim Khan

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1. Sarkar: House of Shivaji, P.236.

2. Masir-i-Alamgiri, P.375 cited by Sarkar in his Aurangzeb, Vol.V, pp.111-112.

in the war of 1689. 2) He aimed at the complete extermination of the Moghals on the soil of the Karnatak 3) To achieve his end, he was prepared to help in all possible ways one who would undertake to destroy the Moghals.

Santaji, the Maratha general appeared in the Karnatak and this was a golden opportunity for Baramappa. Baramappa helped Santaji in men and materials. Kudutani Venkanna, Holalakere Bommanna who distinguished themselves in several wars were detached at the head of a considerable army and horse to reinforce Santaji. Above all Baramappa Nayaka revealed the Maratha general all the secret points of the military arrangements that the Moghals made in Dodderi. Knowing full well the Moghal strategy, Santaji proceeded with all his rapidity along with the Chitradurga army and reached Dodderi.[1] This Kannada account is fully confirmed by the Persian sources which state that "Baramappa Nayaka, the Zamindar (Palegar) of the Chittaldrug district, who bore a grudge against Qasim Khan, for having been humbled by that general (in the war of 1689), now sided with the Marathas".[2]

Santaji divided his army into three parts each under an able general. The three generals were properly instructed to advance from three directions and fall upon the enemy before the combination of the Moghal armies was effected. In the early morning, just at a

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1. Palayagars of Chitradurga, P.41 (by M.S.Puttanna).
2. Masir-i-Alamgiri, P.375 cited by Sarkar in his Aurangzeb, Vol.V, P.112. ~~Breketed words are mine~~.

time when Khasim Khan had to arrive at the theatrical exhibition to receive the Moghal general, Khanazad, Santaji fell upon the tent and burnt it to ashes. Hearing the unexpected attack of the Marauder, Khasim Khan hurried to the scene of action; and joining his friend Khanazad Khan shortly after, encountered the Marathas. Unable to bear the brunt of the Marathas, the two Khans shut themselves up in the citadel of Dodderi.[1]

J.N.Sarkar says:

> "Qasim and Khanazad took counsel together and decided to go to the small fort of Dodderi close to which the advanced-tents had been sent and where there was a tank. Fighting for 2 miles they reached the tank in the evening and halted; the enemy retired from the attack and encamped close by".[2]

Santaji invested the fort closely for three days exposing the Khans to starvation and deadly effects of the Maratha guns. On the 4th day, the Marathas were multiplied in number by the addition of large body of Kala Pidaka musketeers and began to fight more strenuously than before.

Khasim Khan was an habitual eater of Opium which he could

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1. Sardesai: N.H.M. Vol.I, P.335; Sarkar: House of Shivaji, pp.244-245; Paleyagars of Chitradurga, P.41.

2. House of Shivaji, pp.245-246.

not get now and breathed his last on 20th November 1695[1] being unable to tolerate such privation. It was also reported that he took poison and committed suicide in order to avoid disgrace from the Emperor. His friend Khanazad surrendered agreeing to pay 20 lacs of rupees as ransom in addition to all valuables of the camp worth about 30 lacs more.[2]

Santaji gave back Dodderi to Baramappa Nayaka and made friendship with him.[3]

Action at Basavapatna: The theatre of the war was now shifted to Basavapatna from Dodderi. The disastrous defeat of the Mughal generals at Dodderi roused Aurangzeb to the lively consciousness of the danger hanging over his generals; and to the speedy relief of it, detached from his camp, Brahmapuri Hamid-ud-din Khan who was to join Rustam-dil Khan from Hyderabad. They united at Adoni and met the retreating army of Khanazad Khan.

By this time Himmat Khan Bahadur who was detached to reinforce Khasim Khan had taken refuge at Basavapatna and was unwilling to leave that place as he was pregnant with the fear of the smallness of the army which was not a match to the well trained army of Santaji. To the utter bewilderment of the Khan Santaji appeared on

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1. The assignement of December 1695 to the death of Khasim Khan has no basis in the work of Hayavadana Rao, Mysore Vol.I, P.312.
2. Ibid, pp.246-249; Sardesai New History of the Marathas Vol.I, pp.335-336; Shivaji Souvenir, P.37. It fixes the date as 5th Jan.1696 and the ransom one lakh of rupees; see also Kincaid & Parasnis; A History of the Maratha People. P.
3. Palayagars of Chitradurga, P.41.

the scene and encountered the enemy in a sanguinary action near Basavapatna[1] in which both the father and the son were attacked and killed on the 20th January 1696.[2] Profitting much by the spoils of the war, Santaji retreated. The news of the tragic death of the general and his son reached Aurangzeb on the 28th Jan.1696.

Santaji's defeat: Aurangzeb, realising the entanglement of his general by the enemy, soon detached a contingent under Hamiduddin Khan with instructions to hasten to Basavapatna with all rapidity so as to relieve the general early.

The gallant march of the imperial army started on the 22nd Jan.1696 and they reached Adoni. On the 1st Feb.1696; leaving heavy baggage at Adoni, they marched with full speed in direction of Basavapatna. While they were at the 20th mile on their way to the destined destination, their progress was arrested by Santaji on the 26th February 1696. But unluckily Santaji was utterly routed by the imperial force and Santaji for the time being fled the field. When Basavapatna was completely occupied by the Moghal general, Santaji, again tried his luck by making a sudden dash into the fortress once more but his efforts proved fruitless.[3]

Bidar Bakht and Chitradurga chieftain: Bidar Bakht had been commissioned by Aurangzeb to proceed from Panhala to Basavapatna

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1. Basavapatna is 40 miles west of Dodderi.
2. Sarkar: Aurangzeb, Vol.V, pp.120-121; Sardesai: New History of the Marathas Vol.I, P.336; Sarkar: House of Shivaji, pp.250-251; Shivaji Souvenir, P.37; Kincaid and Parasnis: A History of the Maratha People, P.167.
3. Sarkar: Aurangzeb, Vol.V, pp.121-122; Sardesai: New History of the Marathas, Vol.I, P.336.

at the end of January 1696. After joining the two imperial armies under Khasim Khan and Himmat, the prince reached Bankapur (some 60 miles north of Basavapatna) from where they unitedly resumed their march on 3rd March but by that time the siege of Basavapatna was raised. Cantoning at Basavapatna within a few days, the prince sent out detachments to punish the Zamindars who revolted against the authority of the Moghals being unwilling to pay their contributions. Baramappa Nayaka of Chitradurga was reluctant to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Moghals.[1]

The abrogation of the Moghal authority following the acquisition of its many territories in the Karnatak by Baramappa had roused the anxiety of Bidar Bakht who was not slow to employ any means to crush the might of the palegar. On 16th May 1696 Bidar Bakht, on behalf of the Emperor had proposed him a written pardon on certain conditions: 1) "If Baramappa behaves badly again, he would be killed with his family and his country desolated; 2) he should cede to the Emperor the small fort of Dodderi with 2 elephants and the guns and demolish the fort of Ramagiri, nor ever re-build the latter; 3) he should agree to a tribute and fine of 8 lakhs of rupees - (3 lakhs in cash down and five lakhs by instalments under a written bond) - and another lakh to the prince; and 4) his army under his brother should serve under the prince in the Emperor's wars". Stunned at the unexpected combination of the Moghals Baramappa Nayaka agreed to the proposals meekly.

In September 1700 Baramappa received a farman and a robe in reward of his military aid.[2] After this treaty, Baramappa

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1. Sarkar: Aurangzeb, Vol.V, P.122.
2. Carnatic records (Persian) in the Madras Record Office - Sarkar: Aurangzeb, Vol.V, P.123; see also Palayagars of Chitradurga, P.41.

Nayaka formed a grand confederacy consisting of all chieftains of Hamanuru, Gudde Kote, Nidagallu, Ratnagiri, Jarimale Sirya and keeping Hattimallappa Nayaka in the forefront, marched and camped near Nannivala to raise the siege of Hatti Kote which was occupied by Hindu Raya and the Nayak of Rayadurga. The combined army defeated the two palegars and took Hatti Kote. Pursuing the defeated army, Baramappa won another brilliant victory at Kottura over the enemies.[1]

Before the arrival of the prince, Santaji had left Chitradurga district in March 1696. The two notable successes at Dodderi and Basavapatna tempted Santaji to try once more to relieve Gingi but his plans were dashed to the ground when he had to taste defeat near Arni at the hands of Zalfikar Khan in April 1696.[2]

In spite of this reverse, Santaji did not lose his resolve and courage. On the other hand he had concentrated all his force at Seerpe to check the onrush of the Moghal army into the Karnatak. The factory record of April 14, 1696 says:

> "There are frequent and various reports of an army coming from the king's (Aurangzeb's) camp under the command of Deader Bux, the son of Arum Turra which is probably the reason why Santogee Goorpara stays with an army of 15,000 about Seerpe to oppose their entrance into the Cornatta country and prevent their joining with Zalphaker Cawne".[3]

1. Palayagars of Chitradurga, P.42.
2. Sarkar: Aurangzeb, Vol.V, P.104.
3. Records of Fort St.George: Letter from Fort St.George for 1696, P.29, No.34.

The Last Mysore Maratha War of 1696.

Santaji, the victor of the two famous battles in Mysore had fully determined to crush and destroy the authority of the Moghals where ever he could find it. Having intelligence of Aurangzeb sending heavy treasures to finance Zalfikar Khan in the South, Santaji rode with a large army and intercepted the treasure at Kadapa in November 1696. Zalfikar Khan, getting scent of the design of Santaji, immediately proceeded in that direction. Santaji learning the approach of the Khan, suddenly deviated from his designs and went by other route.[1]

Taking a different route altogether, Santaji entered Mysore with his army in the month of December 1696.[2]

The sudden entry of the Marathas into the Mysore took its Raja by surprise; and the Raja whose policy all along was the extermination of the Marathas encountered the enemy - Santaji and severely defeated him.[3] In the meanwhile Zalfikar was ordered by the Emperor to follow Santaji into Mysore. Accordingly Zalfikar Khan pursued him and joined Bidar Bakht (Deader Bux, Dedder Bux of Fort St.George) at Penukonda (75 miles north of Bangalore).

Factory record of 31st December 1696 says:

> "The king hath ordered Dider (Bux) to Chingee and Zulphaker Cawn to follow after Santogee into the Myzore(Mysore)country".[4]

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1. Records of Fort St.George: Diary and Consultation book for 1696, P.142.
2. Sarkar: History of Aurangzeb, Vol.V, P.104.
3. C.Hinnapam, pp.58-59.
4. Records of Fort St.George: Diary and Consultation Book of 1696, P.166.

Further in the mutilated paragraph of the Madras record of January 19th 1696-97, Wilks has observed the following:

> "Nabob Zulphecar Cawn is gone into the Mizore country after the Maratha army and hath left a very small part of his army in these parts."[1]

Zalfikar Khan was greatly disappointed in his expectation for Santaji being ignominiously defeated by Chikkadevaraja of Mysore had already left the field.[1A]

> Wilks says: "Finding on his arrival in or near Mysoor that the Mahratta was already defeated and dispersed, he returned immediately to the lower country".[2]

If Santaji had kept up the brilliant record and prosecuted the war against the Moghals maintaining goodwill and understanding with his collegues and officers, the history of the Marathas in the Karnatak would have been different, but mistorture followed him and rupture began between him and Danaji on the question of holding the post of Senapati which ought to have been given to the former if there was any recognition for the meritorious deeds. But his bad behaviour had altered everything. His biting tongue, vanity imperious temper and spirit of insubordination had more than once disgusted the court at Gingi and all of them reacted severely on the bright and promising prospects of his career. At a meeting with

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1. History of Mysore, Vol.I, P.114, F.N.2.

2. Ibid.

1A Appendix VI

Rajaram in Gingi, Santaji went to the extent of charging him with pusillanimity and said openly: "your position is all due to me. I can make and unmake the Chhatrapati." Consequently he was dismissed from the office and Dhanaji was elevated to his position on 27th October 1696.[1]

Highly humiliated by such a treatment, Santaji returned to his homeland in March 1697. Here an internecine war broke out between him and Dhanaji. Deserted by all Santaji fled from the field with only a few followers. While he was taking bath near the Shambhu Mahadev hill, according to Khafi Khan, he was surprised and killed (June 1697).[2]

> Sarkar says: "Thus died Santaji Ghorpare, like Charles XII of Sweden, most ignominiously at the end of a most dazzling military career."[3] Sardesai says "The death of this unmatched hero was a severe blow to the Maratha fortunes."[4]

The Position of Chikkadevaraja from 1691-96 in relation to the Moghals.

Chikkadevaraja diligently followed a policy of non-intervention in the Maratha-Moghal struggle for supremacy in the South.

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1. Sardesai: New History of the Marathas, Vol.I, pp.336-337; Sarkar: Aurangzeb, Vol.V, pp.124-125.
2. Sarkar: Aurangzeb, Vol.V, P.127.
3. Aurangzeb, Vol.V, P.127.
4. New History of the Marathas, Vol.I, P.338.

He realised quite early the grave consequences of drawing the Mysore kingdom into the bitter strife of the two; and therefore never took notice of any problem relating to the affairs of his immediate neighbour although they fought like wolves in the immediate vicinity of his kingdom. His latter part of life synchronized with a period when the Moghal Emperor, Aurangzeb was practically the master of the Deccan and was free to direct his march to the far south. He realised the futility of rising up in arms against the Moghal power and therefore befriended Khasim Khan, the foujdar of Karnatak till his death at Dodderi. Above all, since 1687, Chikkadevaraja had been maintaining his friendly relations with the imperial power ostensibly to strike a terror into the hearts of his enemy. Apart from this diplomatic move designed, he realised the strength and resources of the Moghal Empire and therefore adjusted his relations to the exigencies of the state. Further he seemed to have got the scent of the scheme of Aurangzeb in directing his arms into the South. Manucci remarks: "It is his (Aurangzeb's) practice

> to denude them (the southern kingdoms) slowly of their wealth, then of their territory, finally of their life".[1]

Chikkadevaraja prevented the fruition of this scheme by acting as a friend to the Moghal Empire. This was perhaps the reason why Zalfikar Khan while he was in Mysore in 1696, did not come to a clash, on the other hand left some portion of the army

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1. Storia do Mogor, ii, P.444.

and returned to the lower country.

Zalfikar Khan seems to have admired Chikkadevaraja for his strength and power in inflicting a crushing defeat on Santaji whom the Khan was pursuing under orders of the Emperor.

Chikkadeva & Marathas: The defeat of a Maratha General by Chikkadevaraja increased the reputation of the latter far and wide. This was the last war waged against the Marathas in the Mysore kingdom. The flight of Santaji across the kingdom of Mysore hotly pursued by the Moghals marked the last phase in the Mysore Maratha relations. The triumph of the Raja was echoed in many of the contemporary kannada records. Apratima Vira Charitam says that Chikkadevaraja had lifted up the darkness of infamy from the Karnatak and established his golden rule there.[1] The Marathas had repented largely for having entered the Karnatak and been ignominiously disgraced by the raja.[2] For their stupidity in entering into squabbles with the king, they lost the chance of settling themselves permanently in Karnatak.[3]

Chikkadevaraja and Ikkeri 1694-95.

When the contending parties engaged themselves almost in the death struggle in the vicinity of Mysore kingdom for the mastership of the Deccan, Chikkadevaraja, following the policy of

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1. A.V.C., III, V.136, Manda maratara duryashadindam mige masivanda Karnatakada kandam kaledapratimam chandadolureyalpuvadisidam nijayashadim.
2. Ibid, V. 139.
3. Ibid, V.139.

non-alignment with big powers much to the security of his kingdom, had let loose the forces of his arms in the direction of Ikkeri which was rising into political prominence under the able, efficient and benevolent rule of Channammaji. She never wished to bow down her head before the storm of the Mysore army. She mobilised her forces comprising of disciplined, straight-forward, selfless band of workers such as Dalavai Channabasava Setti, Sabnis Bommarasaiya of Kolivada, Yakub Khan, Krishnappa Nayaka of Aigur and others. This gigantic and well-equipped army proceeded in the direction of Mysore and assaulted Arkalgud which was conquered by Chikkadevaraja in 1674 from its chief Krishnappa Nayaka of Aigur. In January 1695 in a sanguinary action that took place at Hebbale near Arkalgud, the Ikkeri army was routed. In the general confusion that followed, many prominent men on Ikkeri side lost their lives, Krishnappa Nayaka was one among them. The Mysore army returned triumphantly to the capital with all the spoils of the war.[1]

This victory tempted Chikkadeva to try to conquer other territories in the same direction. Arkalgud fell into his hand between January and February 1695, Aigur, Sakleshpur & Kodlipet between March and April. This made the king the paramount lord of the western part of Mysore.[2]

According to Keladi Nripa Vijaya[3] Channammaji renewed the

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1. A.V.C., See II, III and IVth Chapters. Ke.N.V. does not throw any light on the event of 1694-95.
2. Mys.Dho.Pur., II, 46-47; Annals, I, 108; Wilks I, P.228 assigns these acquisitions & peace with Ikkeri to 1694 but hostility continues till 1700.
3. IX. 167 Stan. 91-93. We have no account of this on the Mysore side.

the war more vigorously than before and inflicted a severe defeat on the Mysore army in the beginning of 1696.

After securely establishing his authority in the western direction he turned his attention in the direction of East and reconquered Salem, Sadamangalam, Paramatti, Namakal and Tammambatti[1] in March-April 1697.

Thus Chikkadevaraja rose to the height of his power and glory by establishing his authority in the East and West; striking terror into the hearts of the rulers of Tanjore, Madura, Gingi and Sira;[2] and proclaiming himself the sovereign of the Karnatak.[3]

<u>Affairs of Gingee</u>: In the meanwhile the affairs of Gingi went from bad to worse. The deliberate prolongation of the war at Gingi by Zalfikar Khan had received a check when he was ordered to commence the siege in right earnest by Aurangzeb.

Factory record of 1697 says that the Emperor ordered Zalfikar Khan to commence the siege in right earnest.[4]

In December 1697 Rajaram slipped away from the fort, reached Vellore and returned to Maharashtra. The Khan intimated the Emperor of the fall of Gingi on 7th Feb.1698. Zalfikar Khan was rewarded

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1. Annals, I. P.109; Mys.Dho.Pur., II. 48; Compare Captain Read in Baramahal records, (1792) I. 139.
2. A.V.C. III 69, IV, 18.
3. Sachchu. Nir., ff.120; C.Bin.P.58 and Gi.Go., pp.38,69.
4. Records of Fort St.George: Diary & Consultation book of 1697, P.128.

with the title of Nusrat Jung. Gingi which had been regarded for long as the Eastern Troy at last fell.[1]

Chikkadevaraja's diplomacy with the Moghals [redacted].

The death of Khasim Khan, the Moghal foujdar of the Karnatak, at Dodderi in 1695 had adversely affected the position and weakened the footholds of the Moghals in the Karnatak. As long as Khasim Khan remained in the Karnatak, making Sira his headquarters, there was no trouble whatsoever to the king from the imperial headquarters. By adjusting and accommodating to the exigencies of politics and time, Chikkadevaraja courted the friendship of Khasim Khan which in the long run not only placed him in favour of Aurangzeb who had already set an eye on the Karnatak territories but also made him strike terror into the hearts of numerous palegars that crowd the columns of South Indian History so as to tender their submission without any opposition. On the other hand the Emperor had no wish to be encumbered by the problems of the Mysore as long as the Raja remained loyal and faithful to him. Further Aurangzeb wanted Mysore to be the convenient stage to facilitate the marching of his armies which he had detached from Islampuri in pursuit of the Marathas who spread over the extended range of the South.[2]

Mysore Moghal War:

The fall of Gingi in January 1698 had signalised the end of the Moghal Maratha struggle in the south and the scene of hostile

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1. Sardesai: N.H.M., Vol.I, P.340; Kincaid and Parsanis: A.H.M.P., P.168; Sarkar: Aurangzeb, Vol.V, P.130; Wilks: History of Mysore, Vol.I, P.229.
2. Wilks: I. pp.117-118.

activities was transferred from Karnatak to Maharashtra.

Aurangzeb seems to have followed no systematic policy towards the countries of the South when his hopes at the capture of Rajaram and his family in Gingi were foredommed to failure. Gesture of friendship of Aurangzeb towards any country was only a pretence to realize his end and therefore inpermanent. Following this tactful policy, the Emperor ordered his generals still at Gingi after its fall to march on different countries of the South. Didar Bakht had already been ordered to march on Mysore and to reinforce this hastening army, Augangzeb issued orders to Zalfikar Khan to proceed to Mysore.

Factory letter of June 16, 1698 says:

> "The king ordered most of them to other employments and the Nabob (Zalfikar Khan) to goe against Tanjore or Misore (Mysore)".[1]

Another letter of the same date says:

> "The king (Aurangzeb) had ordered Dulpatrow and Daud Cawn to remove to Bollegol and Adonee and the Nabob (Zalfikar Khan) to assist Didar bux coming against Misore and that the Nabob was preparing to go".[2]

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1. Records of Fort St.George: Letters from Fort St.George - 1698 Vol.8, P.73, No.91.

2. Ibid, P.75, No.93.

Another letter of June 1698 in Diary and Consultation says:

"Nabob camp is in preparation for removing by the kings order, Daud Cawn for Bolligatt, Dulpat raw for Adoni and the Nabob for Mizore (Mysore) to meet Didder Bux".[1]

At the time of making tremendous preparations to remove the camp and reinforce the army of Bidar Bakht who was marching against Mysore, the palegar of Turriore made an appeal to Zalfikar Khan to repulse the army of Mysore which was plundering and conquering the major portion of his principality.[2] The secret correspondence seems to have never been known to any body except the palegar and Zalfikar Khan; and on account of this secret negotiations that Zalfikar Khan had directed his several military officers to join Seliem Khan and Ibrahim Khan.

Fort St.George letter of 18th July 1698 says:

"Nabob Zalfauker Cawn has ordered several of the adjacent governors to join Selimon Cawn and not knowing what their intentions are".[3]

The letter of 23rd July 1698 says: "We hear from Chellumbrum, Selimon Cawn & Ebrahim Cawn Gurry are gathering their forces, but their councills are kept so private, yet we can not yet understand

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1. Records of Fort.St.George: Diary & Consultation for 1698, P.68.
2. Records of Fort St.George: Fort St.David Consultations (1698), P.96. Letter of July 15th.
3. Records of Fort St.George: Fort St.David Consultations, P.92.

what their designs are".[1] Another letter of 25th July 1698 explains clearly their private intentions for gathering forces as follows:

> "Selimon Cawn and Ebrahim Cawn Gurry, and the other forces are marched towards Turriore, a great Polligar who made a complaint to Zalfauker Cawn that the Mysore people had taken great part of his country therefore desired his assistance; upon which the Nabob had ordered the forces mentioned the 18th instant, to go upon this expedition. We hear they are to encamp this night at Pennaram",[2] in Salem District.

On reaching the appointed destination, there ensued a sanguinary action in which the Mysore army won a brilliant victory over the Moghal contingent inflicting severe wounds and heavy losses on the latter.

Apratima Vira Charitam says: "Great were the Moghals for war; greater still were the Marathas; greatest was Chikkadevaraja of all the said powers as he had defeated and ruined all of them in the field of battle".[3]

Another stanza says "Encountering the Mysorean army, the Moghals were routed and fallen".[4]

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1. Ibid, P.96.
2. Fort St.George: Fort St.David Consultations (1698), P.96.
3. A.V.C., Ch.III, V.118: Bavarake Mogalarveggala-Ravarathani na marātharavara nibarumam savarisadebadidu negalda vivarise Chikkadēvarājanapratirājam.
4. Ibid V.130: Senesi mahisūrabhatarōl ponardalidar marātar Manidarmogalar.

Another stanza says:

"Those who feared the Moghals and Marathas were not really the great powers but Chikkadevaraja who vanquished the invincible and immutable Moghals and Marathas was only greatest ruler".[1]

Having won the war and ruined the palegar, the Mysore army returned triumphantly to the capital with heavy booty and military stores captured on the battle field. Khasim Khan and Ibrahim Khan also returned with life, to their habitations towards the end of August 1698.

Fort St.George letter of August 30th 1698 says:

"This night we have an account that Selimon Cawn & Ibrahim Cawn Gurry are returned to their habitations of Chellubrum (Chidambaram) and Trevidie"[2] (Tiruvadi).

By this battle of Turriore fought in August 1698, the relationship between Delhi and Mysore was not much strained as it was not an action of Chikkadevaraja deliberately directed against the Moghals. On the other hand, following the traditional policy of expansion, Chikkadevaraja had detached an army to plunder and conquer the territories of the palegar of Turriore, who in his

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1. Ibid, Vs.180, 184.
2. Record of Fort St.George: Fort St.David Consultations(1698) P.109.

distressing position invited the Moghal arms to thwart the overhanging danger. Therefore neither Aurangzeb nor Chikkadevaraja could repent at leisure to what had happened at Turriore.

Chikkadevaraja's embassy to the court of Aurangzeb (1699):

One of the outstanding events towards the latter part of Chikkadevaraja's reign was the sending of a glorious embassy to the court of Aurangzeb. At present we have no details on the Maratha side and our main sources of information are the manuscripts relied upon Col.Wilks&the palace History. The details narrated in these sources signify the rise of Chikkadevaraja of Mysore in the estimation of the Emperor on account of his great services to the cause of the Moghal Empire particularly in making the path clear to the Emperor by arresting the progress of the Marathas.

Five reasons were at work: 1) to strike terror to the mischivous palegars who out of jealousy to the exalted position of the Raja, were raising up a formidable confederacy;[1] 2) to remove from the heart of the Emperor hatred and jealousy which he had for Mysore from the recent conquests;[2] 3) to display his vain vanity;[3] 4) to procure from the imperial court the recognition of his royal authority over an extended region which he had very recently effected by his concentrated action and an inflinching determination; Last but not the least was his innate natural desire to court friendship with his powerful neighbours[4] to safeguard his enlarged kingdom from

1. Annals, I, P.142.
2. Wilks, I, P.118.
3. Ibid.
4. Annals, I, P.142.

possible attacks of the hostile combinations.[1]

On the whole it was a diplomatic move designed to cement the friendship and goodwill of the Emperor. He deputed Karnik Lingannayya as his ambassador to the court of Aurangzeb at Ahmadnagar with costly jewels, cloths and a letter of friendship. The Annals state that as soon as Lingannayya was announced as the ambassador from the court of Chikkadevaraja of Mysore, the Emperor directed that the ambassador from a king "who is interested in the welfare of the Moghal Empire" may be introduced to him. On the ambassador offering the Raja's letter and the presents, the Emperor made kindly enquiries of the Raja's health and said, "your king has conquered many enemies and acquired considerable territory and his administration is noted for justice, impartiality and firmness. I felt extremely happy at his remarkable skill and prowess which he displayed in killing the Marathas leaders Jayaji Ghat and Nimbaji Ghat who had besieged Delhi two or three times but could not be captured. Not only that Srirangapatna[2] is ours but also your king is our friend. We shall be glad to extend our assistance to the king whenever emergency occurs".[3]

Sojourning for some weeks at the imperial court, the embassy returned in the year 1700 with decorations and honours for the Raja.

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1. Dr.S.Krishnaswami Iyengar: Nayaks of Madura P.198, F.N.
2. The wording is wrongly instituted here. Probably this is either the wrong translation of Urdu or if Aurangzeb has said it actually, he did not mean it.
3. Annals, I, P.144.

When the king heard of the approach of the embassy to the capital, immediately sent out top-ranking officers, reputed Dalvoys to receive him at a distance and also the supposed letter, presents and insignia of honour. Those articles were taken in a procession and paraded round the town in all pomp and splendour. After the procession was over, he dedicated them the God Ranganathaswami prior to his using them for himself. Among the various presents was the sighet bearing the title "Raja Jagdev" (King of the world), a seal engraved in Persian characters with the words "Raja Chikkadevaraj Muhmmad Shahi". There were a number of insignias such as Gandabherunda, Dharani Varaha, and other emblems of sovereignty. In the letter he recognized the right of the Raja to hold the Durbar seated on the throne of the Pandavas".

Though there is no independent authority confirming this account, we can not dismiss it as impossible and improbable. When viewed from the political situation prevailing at that time, the account gains strength as an authentic authority and throws new light on the right step being taken by the Raja in forming a diplbmatic connections with the imperial power of Delhi.

The death of Khasim Khan, the friend and protector of the Raja, dealth a severe blow to the latter. He anticipated trouble to his kingdom from Khasim Khan's successors, the Moghal Emperor, once friendly, now probably jealous of the exalted position of the Raja and the Moghal arms being powerful in the Deccan between 1698-1701.

A s the two evidences relied upon by Col.Wilks and palace manuscripts are implicit and circumstantial, the intentions of the

Raja are made obvious.

He undertook the gigantic task of deputing a splendid embassy only to ward off the probable danger either from Khasim Khan's successor or from the internal palegars who were sharpening their swords to raise in rebellion against the Raja. Therefore sending of an embassy to the imperial court was more in the nature of defensive alliance.

Wilks's supposition[1] that the embassy did not make much impression at the imperial court and the calculation of the political position of Chikkadevaraja (in the eyes of the Emperor) on the basis of the small sum being spent in entertaining the ambassador by the Emperor do not hold good when we look at the high honour and extraordinary titles conferred upon him by the Emperor and purchasing power of the money prevailed some 250 years ago.

Dr.S.Krishnaswami Iyangar's statements[2] that Mysore had made a timely submission, from the point of view of Aurangzeb, by sending an embassy to the great Moghal; that he showed scant respect to the embassy, do not appear fair and true to facts. It was not a submission; on the other hand a conclusion of some sort of defensive alliance. If Aurangzeb really wished to secure the submission of Mysore, he would have got it in 1687 When Khasim Khan hoisted the imperial flag on the ramparts of Bangalore; secondly Dr.S.K.Iyengar

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1. Wilks, I, P.118.
2. Nayaks of Madura, P.198, F.N.

seems to have followed Col.Wilks in saying that the Emperor showed scant respect for which there is no evidence.

On the whole, it was only a diplomatic move designed to secure the friendship of the imperial power which was brilliantly successful; secondly it was a defensive alliance to ward off the danger that might threaten his kingdom with destruction from within and without; thirdly it raised Chikkadevaraja to the highest pitch of glory and prestige from the local point of view; fourthly Mysore rose prominently an independent kingdome, became a power friendly with the Moghal empire and free from any internal and external troubles. Fifthly it made Chikkadevaraja introduce in Mysore new administrative institutions based on Moghal practice and procedure; lastly it served to strengthen the claim of Chikkadevaraja as the Emperor of the Karnatak, the claim for the retention of it he endeavoured strenuously right from the beginning.

The assumption of grand titles like 'Karnataka Chakravarti' and 'Apratima Vira' as a possible rival of Shivaji the Great made Chikkadevaraja an important monarch in the Karnatak country. The military tactics and waging of extraordinary warfare in the South against the invincible powers such as the Marathas and other turbulant palegars raised him to the position of Tenkana Raya [1] (Lord of the South). He saved the kingdom from the destructive forces

1. Mysore Rajara Charitre: Extracts, P.29.

which were looming large around his kingdom consequent on the frequent incursions of the Marathas, Moghals and other aggressive powers. The hostible relationship with the Marathas, the friendly connection with the Moghals and offensive and defensive alliances he had been frequently concluding with the neighbouring powers made Mysore emerge from obscurity and shine in all its unusual brilliance before the eyes of all India. Mysore passed through all vicissitude of its career bowing her head to all the storms of invasions until it could raise up its head firmly and boldly under the able rule of Chikkadevaraja. The relationship which he had with the Marathas had the lasting influence on the evolution of Mysore into a prominent city.

The last four years of Chikkadevaraja's reign (1700-1704) was a period of golden rule. His enlarged kingdom enjoyed unusual peace and prosperity. His kingdom stretched its wing as far as Bangalore and parts of Tumkur districts in the north; Hassan and Kadur in the west and northwest; upto Salem-Baramahal and Coimbatore districts in the east and the south. Under Chikkadevaraja, Mysore grew into a compact independent kingdom south of the river Krishna.

Since 1699 Mysore had not been troubled at all by the Marathas, for Rajaram was involved himself in hopeless wars against the Moghals. The death of Rajaram in Maharashtra on 2nd March 1700[1]

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1. Sarkar: Aurangzeb, Vol.V, P.135; Sardesai: N.H.M. Vol.I, P.347.

and Chikkadevaraja in Mysore on 16th November 1704[1] had brought to an end ~~to~~ the hostile relations of Mysore and the Marathas in the 17th century.

Affairs of Maharashtra and Delhi 1700-1707.

When South India was enjoying complete peace and order, north India was a picture of veiled anarchy and disorder. Aurangzeb's hopes of complete extermination of the Marathas in the south were dashed to the ground when Rajaram slipped away from the impregnable fort of Gingi. Unwilling to move even an inch back from his determined resolution, Aurangzeb led the army in person and in six years (1699-1704) he was able to capture only four major forts with a few minor ones. They were Satara (21st April 1700), Panhala (28th May 1701), Vishalgad (4th June 1702) and Sinhagad (8th April 1703).[2]

After the death of Rajaram, his wife (Tarabai) took up the challenge and ruled the country in the name of her two sons, namely Shivaji and Sambhaji with Ramachandra Pant, as the chief officer (Amatya).[3] Among the two sons of Rajaram, Shivaji proved

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1. Annals, I, P.154; Raj.Kath., XII. 488, Mys.Dho.Pur., II. 31.
2. Sardesai: N.H.M., Vol.I, P.347.
3. Linganna Kavi: Ke.N.V., P.164: Rāmarājam patni rāni swaputrarāda Shivāji Sambhājigalam muntittukondu Rāmachandra Pantanam mukhyādikāriyam mādikondintu rājyangaiyutiral. Kannada source points out that she had two sons named Shivaji and Sambhaji. But this is wrong. Sambhaji, according to non-kannada sources, was the son of Rajasbai, Tarabai's co-wife.

traitor to his mother and died a few years later by entangling himself in hopeless troubles. Thereupon the wife of Rajaram resumed the responsibility of ruling the kingdom in the name of the only surviving son, Sambhaji.[1]

Aurangzeb showed more chivalry and great concern in the well-being of Shahu who had been in confinement at the emperor's camp since the capture of Raigad (3rd Nov.1689). While the emperor was proceeding from Vagin Kheda to Ahmadnagar, he was attacked by fell disease. As there were no signs of his disease being cured, he began to entertain grave doubts about the future destiny of his enlarged empire. With a view to prevent his empire being attacked by aggressive powers, Aurangzeb had resolved to place able personeges in important position. Accordingly he drew up a will wherein he divided the empire among his several sons: Shah Alam was placed in charge of Delhi, Azamtara was appointed the Subedar of the North; Kam Baksha was given the charge of Bijapur and Golkonda; Shahu was entitled to one fourth of the revenue that the emperor was receiving from the conquered territories. This will was named "Chauthai Farman".[2] On the morning of Friday 20th February 1707,[3] Aurangzeb died. His dead body was

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1. Ke.N.V., P.164: Ā rājeramarājana kumārakarīrvarōlā Shivājiyamba kumāram mātrudrōhamam nenedu tanmūladim bandhanadōḷsilunki maraṇamam paḍeyaloḍane Rāmarājana patni swaputranāda Sambhāji verasu rajyangaiyuttaliral. Sardesai says (N.H.M., Vol.I, P.348) that Shivaji was deficient in mental powers and consequently the responsibility of ruling the Maratha kingdom was devolved upon Tara Bai.
2. Ke.N.V., pp.164-165. So far as the preparation of the will by Aurangzeb containing the partition of the empire among his sons, kannada account agrees with other non-kannada sources (Sardesai: N.H.M. Vol.I, pp.360-361) Kincaid and Parasnis: A.H.M.P., Vol.II, P.120 (1922 edition).

(continued)

carried to Daulatabad and was interred by the side of wife.[1]

Aurangzeb's daughter who lavished so much love and affection on Shahu, released the latter from the prison, handed over the "Chouthai Farman" which Aurangzeb prepared, and sent him to Maharashtra advising him to be loyal to the Moghal throne. Shahu reached Satara, joined Sambhaji and began to administer the Maratha kingdom with commandable equanimity with the closest cooperation of Balaji Viswanath and other influencial Vazirs.[2]

In conclusion it may be said that when Rajaram was hard pressed by the Moghals, he left Panhala inhaste passed through Mysore unnoticed by the guards of the country and reached Gingi safely. Though there was no natural or political hostility as such between the ruler of Mysore and Rajaram, yet the aggressive activities of the latter's generals such as Santaji and others in the kingdom of Mysore had renewed and revived the traditional policy of hostility between the two houses. In 1696 the last Mysore-Maratha war was waged in which the Marathas under Santaji were completely defeated and driven out of Mysore. The flight of Rajaram from Gingi to Maharashtra had practically brought to a close the unhappy relationship between Mysore and Maratha for the Seventeenth Century.

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(from previous page).

3. Sardesai: N.H.M., Vol.I, P.361; Kincaid & Parasnis: A.H.M.P., Vol.II, P.120.

1. Ke.N.V., P.165.
2. Ibid. Kannada source does not make mention of the war by which Shahu took Satara.

CHAPTER XIV.

CONCLUSION.

Now in finale, a student of History may be permitted to offer a few remarks, arising out of the study of the men and events of the period under survey. Though the task of the Historian is mainly one of objective narration of the events, reflections on the conduct of the chief actors and the ultimate consequences of their actions are quite inevitable, for judgment is the spice of History.

As already pointed out, it has been the task of this thesis to survey the relationship that existed between Mysore and the Marathas during the period under review. During the 17th century, Mysore had the credit of producing eminent personages in the line of the Wodeyar dynasty, who had moulded not only the character of the time in which they lived, but had converted a tiny principality into a great well-knit kingdom as well. Raja Wodeyar, Chamaraja Wodeyar, Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar, Doddadevaraja Wodeyar and Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar were some of the outstanding personalities that adorned the throne of Mysore during the period under survey. Maharashtra too had come into great political prominence during this century under enterprising leaders such as Shahji, Shivaji, Sambhaji and Rajaram.

The 17th century witnessed feverish attempts of both the States to expand their political influence. Mysore which had got only a few villages under its control at the commencement of the 17th century came to be developed into a great kingdom extending its wing as far as Bangalore and parts of Tumkur districts in the north, Hassan and Kadur in the west and northwest; upto Salem-Baramahal and Coimbatore districts in the east and south.

Maharashtra too had its share of the same ambitious career. Shahji was a chieftain under Bijapur Sultan with a few jagirs in Poona and Mysore. At the close of the 17th century, the Marathas extended their influence for over 1000 miles from Poona to Tanjore.

Consequent upon the expedition of 1638 that was organised and fitted out by the Sultan of Bijapur under Ranadulla Khan, a renowned Bijapur general, with definite instructions to effect the conquest of Karnatak territories, particularly Srirangapatna, Shahji, as the second commandant of the Bijapur army, came down to Mysore, fought against several chieftains and hoisted the flag of Bijapur over the parts of those territories that fell into his hands. As a result of his loyal service rendered in this campaign Shahji was posted at Bangalore by the Sultan and a jagir consisting of Hoskote, Sira and Doddaballapura was conferred upon him.

Bangalore grew into a great city of Maratha culture under Shahji and his successors.

Shahji laid firm, the foundation of the Maratha kingdom at Bangalore. He spent the latter part of his life (1639 - 1664) in Mysore taking active part in the politics of Mysore. Though he had been a subordinate officer of Bijapur, yet for all practical purpose he was an independent king. For in those days of difficult communication, it is not strange for governors of distant provinces to assume a tone of independence.

As the rulers of Mysore and Shahji were living not far away from one another, it was but natural that they would come into armed conflict with one another.

Throughout the 17th century, the relationship between the two powers under survey was not cordial. Mutual distrust, discord, jealousy and hatred characterised their relations. They never lived as peace-loving neighbours.

The two powers differ in their ideal,method of warfare and political programmes.

After all fighting is not an elevating occupation, nor are men commonly the better for indulging in the slaughter of their fellows. War is an evil; it breeds war. It brings

horror and misery. War is in truth and in fact a relic of barbarism. It results in the slaughter and enslavement of the people. When the raid is over, the raided state weakened and impoverished, moves a little further away and begins again its precarious existence, making plans for a counter-raid to recover its lost grounds. True, religion and philosophy may sometimes flourish in spite of bloodshed and disorder. But the cases where they do so are rare. Therefore war is the greatest enemy of the civilized State.

Frequent wars between the two powers had sapped their strength, destroyed their material prosperity and left their people in darkness and poverty. Their unending rivalries and relentless wars brought misery, disaster and devastation over a large part of Karnataka. War to end war was the disease of the age.

What were the ideals and thoughts that lay behind these two States? Was there a spark of any nobler sentiment animating the activities of either of the parties to the conflict? When we probe into the secret motives and ideals inspiring Mysore and the Marathas, the latter comes out as the better of the two.

Throughout the period under survey, Mysore had confined its attention only on Karnataka. Territories lying outside the geographical frontiers of Karnataka were foreign

to Mysore, and therefore was not worried about them. This implies that the outlook of Mysore was narrow.

But the Marathas were made of a different mould. They had larger interests and broader outlook. They had never confined their imagination either only on a few territorial possessions in Maharashtra or only a few jagirs in the south of the Krishna. The chequered career of Shahji itself would serve as a strong evidence to the view that the outlook of the Marathas was broader and nobler. Secondly, while Shivaji was in Bhaganagar on his expedition to south India in 1677, he is said to have expressed his deep desire to the Sultan of Golkonda that he would conquer the whole of India if Bijapur and Golkonda would but cooperate. Even though they were not successful in their mission of conquering all India, yet one could see a subterranean current of broader vision and nobler sentiment underlying their political philosophy. Warren Hastings wrote in 1784:

> "The Maratha possess, alone of all the people of Hindusthan and Deccan, a principle of national attachment, which is strongly impressed on the minds of all individuals of the nation and would probably unite their chiefs, as in one common cause, if any great danger were to threaten the general state".

Throughout the 17th century, the chief aim of Mysore was merely one of aggression and expansion at any cost, irrespective of the means employed to achieve the aim. In its expansion-programme Mysore did not scruple regarding the means. It would not hesitate to enter into negotiation with any power, Hindu or Muslim to achieve its own ends. Doddadevaraja Wodeyar, in his distressing position consequent upon the onrush of the Bednur army into Srirangapatna, had appealed to the Sultan of Bijapur, who had been the inveterate foe of Mysore all along, for military aid; and with his contingent under Bahlol Khan, he was able to repulse the invasion of Bednur.

It pains to write here that Chikkadevaraja of Mysore had extended his military aid in men and materials to Aurangzeb, the sworn enemy of the Hindus in Hindusthan and made the task of the Imperial Majesty in reducing Bijapur and Golkonda comparatively easy. What did he gain in return? Nothing, Nothing. While Chikkadevaraja himself was entangled in hopeless embarrassment of the war against the Marathas, Aurangzeb, the clever Moghal did not send any help to the ruler of Mysore in spite of the request made to him by the latter.

Another instance where in Chikkadevaraja had showed his inferiority complex and departed from his political ideal was in sending of an embassy to the court of Aurangzeb with

costly jewels and presents. Although it was a diplomatic move designed to court the friendship of Aurangzeb who was known for his intolerance and notoreity, in order to strike terror and horror into the hearts of local palegars and thereby reduce them into submission, yet it was ~~the~~ most humiliating in theeyes of the Hindus. Even the Muslims rulers of Bijapur and Golkonda did not stoop so low as this. If they bowed before the Moghals, it was only under duress. There was no such compulsion for the ruler of Mysore to flaunt as the friend of the inveterate enemy of the Hindus. Self-interest, self-existence and self-aggrandisement were the main motives of the rulers of Mysore. They were self-centred and the dominating impulse of their life was not the pursuit of an ideal but the quest of personal power.

But the Marathas were men of different orders altogether. From the very beginning they showed themselves as the champions of the Hindus, though not hating the Muslims. The aim of the Marathas was to infuse in the heart of every Hindu, self-confidence and self-respect, in the face of the proud and brutal soldiers of the crescent, who never missed a chance of insulting the Hindu religion. The main object of Shivaji was to win religious freedom and not territory. He proclaimed that he came to the earth to protect Hindu dharma against the insults of Islam. "Hindavi-Swarajya" was the title he has used for his national scheme in one of his letters

(to Dadaji Naraso Prabhu in 1645), meaning thereby that he wanted to strive for a Hindu religious autonomy for the whole country. Even in the darkest period of their History, in the days of Rajaram in Gingi, the Maharashtrian never thought of surrneder to the mighty giant of the Moghal dynasty. Every Maratha became a warrior ~~by~~ himself, vowed to take life for life, in the cause of his country.

The Marathas wanted to unite all the Hindus, throughout the south and the north, under one rule and re-establish Hindu supremacy once again in all the holy places of the Hindus, from Kashi to Rameswaram. When Baji Rao I announced that he would seize all India from Attock to Kanyakumari, it was no empty boast. It was the darling ambition of the Maratha heroes to realise and translate into reality the unity and integrity of Hindustan. What Shivaji dreamed of, the Peshwas achieved, leaving behind an inspiring ideal of united India for all time to come. Not in deeds but in ideals lie the seeds of immortality.

There may be found great dissimilarity in the method of warfare between the two powers. A peculiar feature of Mysore warfare was the mutilation of noses of the enemies. Its origin is traced to the time of Raja Wodeyar who early in his reign is said to have taught a lesson to the chief of Karugahalli. The custom was freely made use of by the Mysore army throughout the wars of the 17th century. It was apparantly

based on a notion that in offensive and defensive warfare the opponents were to taught a bitter experience with a view to prevent them from opposing again the Mysore army. A good many battles were fought not for territories to conquer but for noses to cut. Therefore Hunt-for-Noses was the common feature of Mysore warfare.

Another important feature of warfare was the use of torches tied to the horns of oxen (of the transport service) at night times to scare away the enemy, by surprise warfare. On the other hand the Marathas are born equestrians. They developed a peculiar form of warfare, usually called guerilla warfare. They used to harass the enemies by coming round and executing unexpected raids, making only a show of a fight and plunder and then fly away. They used to fall upon foraging parties, attack weakly held enemy posts, capture strategic points. By this peculiar form of warfare, the Marathas devastated Moghal territory from the river Godavari to Bhaganagar, carrying away pack animals, horses and elephants; created confusion among the enemy and remained concealed in unfrequented forests widely apart and made a sudden dash upon the Moghal armies. They occasionally engaged in an open encounter and prevented the enemies from reaching their destination. They were ubiquitous and illusive like the wind. Thus the Marathas and the Mysoreans

differed even in their method of fighting.

What is more interesting to observe in the wars of the two powers is that the Maratha towns and settlements planted in South withered away very soon. They disappeared as quickly as they appeared. The Maratha possession Bangalore which Shahji built with so much effort in Mysore was sold away by Ekoji. Khasim Khan, the Moghal general conquered one Maratha territory after another and converted them into a Moghal base from where the Moghal influence could be directed to far off regions. Thus the Maratha possessions in Mysore rested upon a foundation of quicksand. They lasted barely half a century.

The year 1639 was marked by a basic change in the relationship between Mysore and the Marathas. The change was catastrophic. It meant great losses for each of the two houses and for south India at large.

1) The change had terminated the utopia of friendly relationship between the two great powers that existed before the commencement of 17th century.

2) It had deprived both countries of immeasurable vital, social and cultural progress and had imposed on both kingdoms ruinous losses.

3) It had similarly affected the innumerable

palegars of the tiny principalities of South India, bringing to them severe suffering and limitless disadvantages.

From all these standpoints the change was regressive and suicidal.

From 1639 up to the closing years of the 17th century the relations between Mysore and the Marathas had been unfriendly and non-cooperative. From various political points of view, the hostile relations rapidly multiplied. A number of agreements were concluded during the 17th century concerning the freedom of certain territories and other important matters between the two powers but they did not remain connecting links for a long time. On the contrary, various disruptive forces blew them to wind and widened the gulf between the two countries. Even at the end of the 17th century the hostile relationship between the two houses remained clouded without having a ray of hope that could dispel the darkness of misunderstanding. The story of this remarkable relationship is highly significant and merits our attention for a number of reasons. In the first place, the enmity that grew in 1639 between the two powers continued unabated for nearly seventy years under the four prominent Maratha

leaders. By successive stages, the seed of discord and conflict that was sown under Shahji when he had firmly established his authority at Bangalore as the governor of the Sultan of Bijapur, came to be developed into a big tree of bitter hostility between the two houses towards the end of the 17th century. From both sides, the actors entered the state of the theatre, played their role exceedingly well and departed from the place contributing their quotas to the poisoned relationship between Mysore and the Marathas.

The 70 year history of the two great powers is nothing but a history of savage wars, internal conflict, mutual jealousies and squabbles.

The principal and necessary cause of war has always been an irreconcilable conflict between the vital interests. When-ever such a clash occurs war ensues. The thesis under investigation has proved that the vital interests of Mysore and the Marathas did seriously conflict on the environs of Mysore. Each power was interested in territorial encroachment at the expense of the other. What is most paradoxical was that neither possessed sufficient territory, at the commencement of the 17th century and each, in the process of expansion, naturally came into armed conflict with the other. There were series of invasions organised and fitted out by the Sultan of Bijapur for the purpose of conquering the Karnataka territories piecemeal and these frequent invasions from 1638 to 1641 A.D. had prepared the solid ground for permanent settlement of the Marathas in Karnataka.

Towards the beginning of the year 1641, Shahji was found ruling over the important territories of Mysore such as Bangalore, Doddaballapura, Kolar, Sira, Belur, Tumkur and Kunigal while Afzal Khan, another Bijapur general was reighing over Turuvekere. The expansion programme of Shahji would clearly indicate his innate desire to carve out an independent kingdom in Mysore. Bangalore being situated in the heart of the dilapidated Vijayanagar was a centre of attraction for Shahji. The sight of the city, security of its fortress and the salubrity of its climate added as a great flip to Shahji's ambition for an independent kingdom. In course of time Bangalore emerged as a miniature Maharashtra court, the effects of which could be seen even today in spite of centuries of change. Though Shahji was successful in his endeavour to found a new kingdom in Mysore, he never forgot to take care of the Poona jagir. Dadaji, a faithful dependent of Shahji was given over the charge of the Poona district. Sambhaji and Ekoji were growing in the court of Bangalore. Somewhere in 1640 and 1641 Shahji invited his wife Jija bai, son Shivaji and trusted agent Dadaji to his court at Bangalore and after their arrival in the capital city, he got his son Shivaji married to a girl named Sai bai from Nimbalkar family. Dadaji Kondedeva visited Bangalore for the second time just a year before his death. Kanthirava Narasaraja realised quite early the danger coming from the

plantation of Maratha colonies on the northern direction of Mysore. Indeed it is a great error in politics to remain idle and unconcerned spectator when the enemies were engaged in the process of territorial expansion. Having this basic principle at the back of his mind Kanthirava threw himself on a career of conquest and in May 1642 he dislodged the Bijapur authority over Turuvekere and established his own rule there.

The overthrow of Afzal Khan's rule at Turuvekere by Kanthirava had sounded a severe warning to Shahji who realising the gravity of the political situation was ever ready to join any local power that would rise up in arms against Mysore. That opportunity offered itself whenwar broke out between Nanjundaraja of Piriyapatna and Kanthirava of Mysore. In this war Shahji took up the cause of Nanjundaraja and fought against Mysore. The war was a protracted one. In this war Shahji was defeated and driven out by the Mysore army. Naturally the animosities between the two great powers became deepened.

This war of Shahji explains that he never led an idle life during the years 1644 - 1646 as has been held by J.N.Sarkar.

Again in Mustafa Khan's Karnatak expedition of 1647 A.D.

Shaji played a decisive role in championing the cause of the sultan of Bijapur when Mustafa Khan arrived at Honnali, Shahji went ahead, met the general and induced him to lay siege to Turuvekere which was brought under the subjection of Mysore. A ccordingly Mustafa Khan went and laid siege to Turuvekere. A terrible battle was fought under the walls of Turuvekere in which the Bijapuris including Shahji were defeated.

While the remnant of the force was retreating under the command of Mustafa Khan and Shahji, from Vellore it had happened to pass through the capital city of Mysore. The defeat (~~at Turuvekere~~) of the Bijapur army at Turuvekere had never disillusioned and disheartened them, on the contrary they persisted in their determined resolution to inflict a crushing defeat on the king of Mysore and take possession of the fort by any means- fair or foul. But when Mustafa Khan delivered his attack on Mysore, he was compelled to withdraw to the country wherefrom he had come, as the brunt of the blows of the Mysore army on the enemies was severe and intolerable.

Thus, the survey of the political situation in Mysore in which the chief actor was Shahji brings to light that Shahji had persistently put forth his efforts to strike at the very foundation of the Mysore Kingdom and seize the power into his hands; but Kanthirava of Mysore

had challenged the authority of the Marathas on the same line as the latter and repulsed successively but successfully all the series of expeditions under Shahji.

The most striking feature in the attitude of Shahji towards the rulers of Mysore was that on many occasions he was forced to fight against Mysore more at the instance of the Sultan of Bijapur than at his own accord. On such occasions he fought with the enemy as a true loyalist. The year 1648 A.D. was not a propitious year for Shahji because dark clouds began to loom large over his future destiny. The Sultan of Bijapur ordered Shahji to cooperate with Mustafa Khan who set out on his last but greatest expedition to Gingi, the storm centre of Hindu revolt. Shahji was arrested for his disloyal feelings and subsequently released on condition that he should hand over Bangalore and Kondana, the most important strongholds of the Marathas, to the Sultan of Bijapur. Soon after his release, Shahji came and settled at Kanakagiri for some time.

The absence of Shahji from Bangalore induced Kanthirava Narasaraja to project the campaign of conquest in the direction of Yalahankanad within which lay Bangalore. The territorial aggrandisement of the king of Mysore brought once again the expedition of Bijapur under the generalship of

Khan Muhammad into Mysore. Khan Muhammad invaded Mysore and caused incalculable havoc by plundering and pillaging the town and burning the fort to "a heap of ashes". In fact Mysore had never experienced such an horror before.

In 1658 Mummadi Kempegowda of Bangalore attacked Shahji in the heart of his capital and inflicted a crushing defeat on him capturing all the war spoils. Shahji recovered from the staggering blow very soon.

The hostile relations between the Marathas and Mysore under Shahji reached its climax when Nandinathaiya, the Dalvoy of Mysore delivered his attack on Shahji at Bangalore and plundered all the belongings of the city in the year 1663. In 1664 Shahji died at Hodigere after a rule of 25 years in Mysore.

Thus it can be seen that the relationship between the Marathas & Mysore under Shahji was one of enmity, hatred and jealousy. For 25 years both the powers went on flourishing side by side, although between them a spirit of rivalry and mutual aggression continued all the time. In fact, if both the powers were united in mind and deed, it would have been possible for them to reinstate Sriranga Raya, the last relic of the decadent Vijayanagara empire to his original position and to achieve south Indian unity under a common sovereign. Or if we take it for granted that the Empire which set its foot on the brink of dissolution could not

regain its strength so as to ~~with-~~stand a formidable power against the encroachments of the foreign powers, Shahji whose visions and objectives were tempered by larger interests and broader outlook would have achieved what the Empire could not have accomplished, if only Mysore had extended its cooperative hand to him. But throughout Mysore remained a formidable foe towards the Marathas.

On the whole mutual distrust and discord, jealousy and squabble characterised the relations of the two great powers under Shahji and the hostile relations acted as detremental to the lasting peace, progressive government and material prosperity of South India. It is for the first time brought to light that the actual successor of Kanthirava Narasaraja of Mysore was Doddadevaraja Wodeyar and not Devaraja Wodeyar.

Though the tension which was created by the mutual rivalries of Bijapur and Mysore was, to a good deal relaxed under Doddadevaraja towards the Sultan of Bijapur, yet the hostility of Mysore towards the Marathas continued all the time.

While Doddadevaraja was ruling over Mysore, several Maratha leaders such as Ekoji, Sambhaji, Vedoji, and Anantoji were found reigning over several parts of Karnatak territory. Ekoji who succeeded his father, Shahji at Bangalore inaugurated

a glorious rule assuming forms and demonstrations of royalty much more direct and pompous than those adopted by his father. The rich experience he gained in the administration as well as in the warfare as the governor of Kolar district during the life-time of his father enabled him not only to restore peace and order in his province but to pursue a philanthrophic ideal as well. His rule over Kolar and Bangalore; his frequent territorial encroachments in the kingdom of Mysore; his alliances with the opponents of Mysore and his adventurous spirit in founding new towns and settlements bear ample testimony to the fact that he pursued a policy of traditional hostility, towards Mysore and proved true the dictum, "as is the father so is the son".

Sambhaji, the first son of Shahji by Jija Bai, had been, according to epigraphic records found in Mysore State, helping his father militarily as well as administratively by remaining a governor of Doddaballapur in Mysore. when Appa Khan, the chieftain of Kanakagiri cast his covetous eye on the conquest of Doddaballapura, Sambhaji went with a large detachment; and in the bloody battle that ensued in 1654 he lost his life mainly on account of the deliberate negligence on the part of Afzal Khan to reinforce the prince at a critical juncture.

Another Sambhaji, brother-in-law of Shahji had also the privilege of ~~governing of~~ governing the Mysore territory.

He was held in high esteem by the subjects of Kolar district.

On the whole it may be said that soon after the establishment of Maratha rule at Bangalore by Shahji, many of his sons and relatives had had the occasion to subject to their control certain lands of Mysore and to govern them most efficiently actively helping Shahji at Bangalore in men and materials.

One of the most outstanding events during the reign of Doddadevaraja was the battle of Erode (1667) in which the confederates consisting of Chokkanatha Nayaka of Madura, Srirangaraya, the last unfortunate relic of the decadent Vijayanagara empire, Vedoji Pandita, the Maratha governor of Gingi, Anantaji Pandita of Tanjore and others were utterly routed by the Mysore army under Kumaraiya, the Dalavoy and the fort was taken possession of by the latter. This famous battle had dealt a staggering blow to the expansion-programme of the Marathas; it crushed the might of Chokkanatha; it served as a source of encouragement to the victors for further territorial conquests; and lastly it drove away Sriranga Raya from Madura to Trichinopoly. Viewed from the ultimate consequence of the war, it can be stated that on no account the tension created by mutual rivalries and jealousies between the Marathas and Mysore was relaxed.

Under Shivaji, the relationship between the two houses

remained the same. Tit-for-tat policy was the key point of their relations. No power had expressed deep-feeling or keen-interest in adjusting their relations by patching up all their differences of opinion for the greater end of self-preservation.

By the time Shivaji thought of subduing the several local powers of South India, Chikkadevaraja was already a force in Mysore to reckon with. Both were great - great in war and in deep diplomacy.

The origin of so great a general as Shivaji has remained a controversial point: Kannada account maintains that he was a carpenter as he was born of a mother belonging to carpenter's community, although a margin may be allowed to interpret that he was a Kshatriya from the father side. At the ~~same~~ time of coronation ceremony, Gagabhatta, a sanskrit scholar and learned man from Benaras had pronounced judgment on the origin of Shivaji as a Kshatriya and therefore was eligible for coronation and thread ceremonies. Therefore on the basis of Kannada and non-kannada sources a logical conclusion is arrived at that Shivaji was a Kshatriya.

In respect of Shivaji's education, the dogmatic opinions of several scholars on Maratha history that Shivaji was unlettered are to be rejected on the basis of several English East India Company letters and Marathi sources and a fairly scientific conclusion is arrived at that Shivaji knew

both writing and reading.

If at all Shivaji had been hailed as a great builder of Maratha kingdom, it was on account of the great influence that Bangalore wielded during his visit in the year 1640: It was in the heart of Hindu empire Shivaji's ideals were shaped; his visions were broadened; sould was enlarged. He resided in the city for two years during his most impressive years of precocious boyhood. Again it was here that his first marriage was celebrated with due pomp and eclat. What a great joy it was for Shahji to see his promising son!

In 1646 Dadaji Konde deva, an eminent teacher of Shivaji, visited Bangalore and begged instructions from Shahji as to his future policy to be followed at Poona jagir. Some where in 1649 or 1652 Sambaji, the brother-in-law of Shahji arrived in Bangalore whom the latter had appointed as the governor of Kolar district. Thus, it may be seen that Bangalore grew into a famous city of Maratha activities in Karnataka.

Out of the four Karnataka expeditions of Shivaji: first in 1657, second in 1658, third in 1664 and fourth in 1677 respectively, the last expedition is the most important, for it was then Shivaji actually came into armed conflict with Chikkadevaraja of Mysore.

As already pointed out, it was the territorial

aggrandisement of Chikkadevaraja of Mysore in addition to the independent movement started by several Karnataka powers for political emancipation that induced Shivaji to project his last Karnataka campaign of conquest. The ultimate objective in undertaking this risky venture was only to conquer and administer such countries as would be reduced to Maratha subjection. Martin's account of Shivaji's Karnataka expedition throws plenty of light on the object with which Shivaji set out on Karnataka campaign.

The idea of Karnataka expedition had flashed in Shivaji's mind as early as 1675 and it was dedided upon in Shivaji's Council. Therefore the originator of the plan was Shivaji himself but not Raghunatha Narayan Hanumanthe as has been maintained by several scholars.

Shivaji's south Indian expedition was a landmark in the history of Mysore-Maratha relations. Of course in the general history of the Marathas it may look as a passing episode but viewed from the angle of Mysore history, it was a great epoch and an unforgettable event. During the return-journey from the bank of the river Coleroon, Shivaji had to pass through Srirangapatna for various political reasons and suffer an utter discomfiture at the hands of Chikkadevaraja whose fame as a great conqueror had spread far and wide.

Kannada literary and epigraphic sources are unanimous in stating the brilliant victory that the ruler of Mysore won over the Marathas at Srirangapatna. It was Chikka-devaraja alone among the several powers of south India that delivered a rude shock to the dream and vision of Shivaji in making a permanent conquest in the kingdom of Mysore to the south of the Karnatak- Bijapur-Balaghat. Having vanquished such a powerful invader, chikkadeva-raja assumed the title of " Apratima vira" (Unparalleled hero).

Then the retreating Maratha army burst on the jagirs of Shahji at Bangalore and took easy possession of them all. Due arrangements were made for convenient administration of the conquered districts. The jagirs consisting of Kolar, Hoskote, Doddaballapura, Chikkaballa-pura and sira were formed into a compact province and placed in charge of Rango Narayan, the sarsubadar and Manoji More, the general.

The chieftains of Kanakagiri, Harpanahalli, Raya-durga, Chitradurga and Vijayanagara were reduced to submission; and the conquered districts were left incharge of Janardan Narayan Hanumanthe. In the light of the above conquests , it is improper to say that Shivaji con-quered, 'No man's land' in Karnataka.

This glorious success was a short-lived one, for while he had recommenced his return journey, he was forced

to come into armed conflict with the Queen of Bellary whose army caused great injuries to the marching Maratha army. Shivaji stood before the walls of Bellary for 27 days but in vain. In the end he restored voluntarily all that he had taken possession of.

Now we have come to the point of enquiring as what manner of man was Shivaji? Was he one of the great ones of the earth, the man of Destiny, as he was called, a mighty hero and one who helped in freeing humanity from its burdens? Or was he, as Kannada accounts depict, a mere demon who did great injury to India in general and Karnataka in particular? It is true that all men are curious mixtures of the good and the bad, the great and the little and deity and dust. He was such a mixture, but, unlike most of human beings, extraordinary qualities went to make up this mixture, courage he had and self-confidence, imagination, amazing energy and vast ambition. He was not pretty, selfish and self-centred and the dominating impulse of his life was the pursuit of an ideal but not the quest of personal power. He was not a full incarnation of blood-thirsty giant as has been depicted in Kannada sources. The insolent, overweening vanity which has proved the ruin of so many commanders both in ancient and modern times, found no place in Shivaji's admirably balanced mind.

Chikkadevaraja of Mysore too, was a potent prince who had kept up the defence of the fort with all his boldness, and audacity against Shivaji and made himself so dreadful as to divert

him to territories outside the pale of his kingdom. Never in the history of south India of the period that a ruler of comparatively a tiny principality had ever inflicted a crushing defeat on Shivaji as Chikkadevaraja of Mysore. The defeat of Shivaji at the hands of Chikkadevaraja lowered his prestige, but not his power. In so far as the Mysore-Maratha relations were concerned, it did not ease the tension, Traditional hostility continued unabated.

The same current of hostility and con-tradiction continued between the houses even under Sambhaji, the son of Shivaji. The activities of Sambhaji in Mysore prior to 1680 had been shrouded in obs-curity. Several epigraphic records found in Mysore State throw a flood of light on the rule of Sambhaji as the governor of several districts in Mysore. When he was required to accompany his father to Delhi, he left the charge of the administration of Kolar district into the hands of his wife, Jayita Bai and departed to Poona. After his return from Delhi, Sambhaji returned to his post and began to rule peacefully Chikkaballapura. He made Nandi Hill his summer resort as his father's custom. While Sambhaji was staying in Nandi, Dilir Khan, a Moghal general who went out on his southern expedition came to Sagar in Shimoga District and heard of Sambhaji's sojourn at Nandi. Intent upon dislodging the Maratha, the Moghal general made a sudden dash on the hill forth with all his forces, on February 21, 1680 but as epigraphic record points out "was beaten off greatly distressed". The defeat of a Moghal general was an outstanding event in the life of Sambhaji.

After the death of his father, Sambhaji went from Chikkaballapura to Poona having armed with all the necessary qualifications of a king.

Mysore which was emerging as a powerful kingdom under the able rule of Chikkadevaraja had always been keeping an eye on the Maratha colonies of the south. Mysore came closer to these Maratha settlements during the unhappy days, of Sambhaji than that of his father, Shivaji. By 1680 Chikkadevaraja had conquered a number of impregnable hill-forts and brought the sphere of influence of Mysore practically coterminous with Maratha colonies in the Karnatak-Bijapur-Balaghat.

Ekoji's repudiation of the suzerainty of the Maratha king in preference to that of a Sultan and his acquisition of Shivaji's territories in Karnataka one after another, had induced Chikkadevaraja of Mysore to try similar conquests in the south. This dominent impulse led to the battle of Trichinopoly.

~~Trichinopoly-War-of-1682~~.

The battle of Trichinopoly is one of the most decisive battles in ~~the north~~ of Madura, South India. It sounded the death-knell of Mysore territories.The bloody war waged at Trichinopoly had left a tremendous influence on the Mysore-Maratha relations. Mysore which had conquered large number

of northern territories of Madura with its sweat and blood had to relinquish its authority consequent on the increasing power of the Marathas. Harji Mahadik, the talented, resourceful Maratha general occupied all the Mysore territories lying to the north of Madura and established the Maratha authority over all of them. The Marathas followed a peace-meal acquisitions. The establishment of Karnatak Bijapur Balaghat with its capital at Bangalore had restricted the geographical sphere of the Mysore kingdom. It could not stretch its hand towards its northern territories. Though Ekoji was ruling from a distant kingdom of Tanjore, his hold on Bangalore was not weak. Thus Mysore suffered a set back in extending her dominion to the north of Channapatna.

On the other hand Mysore was not immune from the pressure of the Marathas on its southern directions. Harji Mahadik drove out the Mysoreans from all the districts and from nearly all the citadels which they had taken from the Nayaks of Madura. Thus Mysore was hemmed in by the two streams of the Marathas, one from the north and another from the south under able leadership of Harji Mahadik. The political relationship between the Mysore king and the Marathas was strained. Chikkadevaraja was frustrated in his hopes: dispossessed of his dominions. The battle of Trichinopoly had dealt a rude shock to the hard-won reputation of the king of Mysore. Militarily it was utter disgraceful for the Mysore army to turn its back to the battle field. Harji's signal success reacted on the military situation

in Mysore. The Mysoreans were driven out and as a result of which they lost their dominant position there. The Northern provinces of Madura served the Marathas as an excellent base for organising their operations, in all sides. The territory with their countless forts and intricate pathways, was the most suitable place for launching expeditions both against Madura and Mysore.

While the siege of Trichinopoly was in progress, Harji Mahadik, perceiving the distressing position of the Mysore Dalvoy, Kumaraiya, despatched Dadaji Kakade, Jaitaji Katkar, Nimbalkar and other Maratha generals with instructions to take Srirangapatna by surprise. Accordingly the Maratha generals arrived and encamped at Kasalagere and Kothathi. In a night attack delivered by the Mysoreans, the Marathas fled in terror. The three Maratha generals were captured and cut to pieces. Thus it was a distinct victory to Chikkadevaraja. Having learnt the disaster at Srirangapatna Harji adopted retaliatory measures, surrounded the Mysore army and inflicted a crushing defeat on them at Trichinopoly capturing Kumaraiya a prisoner.

The natural results of this Tit-for-tat policy were that the victory won by Chikkadevaraja at Srirangapatna was counter balanced by the reverses of Kumaraiya at Trichinopoly; treasuries of both the parties were emptied; the relationship between the two houses went from bad to worse; it

compelled Sambhaji to intervene in the affairs of Mysore in person.

In 1682 Sambhaji descended into Mysore at the head of a well trained army with the main object of teaching a lesson to Chikkadevaraja at the point of sword but his expectations tumbled down to the ground when he received a staggering blow at the famous battle of Banavara at the hands of Chikkadevaraja in June 1682. Sambhaji was not disheartened at this reverse. On the contrary he projected another scheme of shifting the theatre of the war from Banavara to that of Trichinopoly. Accordingly the entire Maratha army moved to Trichinopoly. Foreseeing the imminent danger, Chikkadevaraja entered into negotiations with Sambhaji and thus ended the war by agreeing to pay tribute to the latter. With this conclusion of treaty, the tension between the two powers came to be relaxed to a good deal.

The treaty was the most ignominious to the king of Mysore. He found it expedient to ally himself with some power or the other in order to avenge the humiliation tasted by him at Trichinopoly. That opportunity came when Aurangzeb projected the darling scheme of reducing Bijapur and Golkonda. Chikkadevaraja actively supported His Imperial Majesty, Aurangzeb in men and materials and to some extent possibly contributed his quota to the complete reduction of the two Muslim States. Of course, the military services rendered by

the Raja to the paramount Lord of the North might look comparatively small but it should not be forgotten that in war even an insignificant thing plays its decisive role either for its conclusion or for its prolongation. When the two Muslim states were reduced and their belongings plundered and brought before the Emperor, he must have whole-heartedly thanked Chikkadevaraja for his valuable help. From this alliance, Chikkadevaraja rose high in the estimation of his enemies, particularly Marathas.

The timely extension of military aid of Chikkadevaraja to Aurangzeb provoked Sambhaji, who, taking advantage of a favourable opportunity, invaded Mysore in 1686 with the assitance of several discontented local powers. But Sambhaji, having seen with his own eyes the severe punishment meted out to his allies who entered the field of battle, by Chikkadevaraja, found his way in honourable retreat, setting aside all the hopes of encountering the Raja in an open battle.

With the disgraceful retreat of Sambhaji from the plain of Mysore, Chikkadevaraja's fame as a foremost conqueror increased far and wide. The prestige of Sambhaji was lowered. The gulf was further widened between the two powers. The most important repurcusions of this was that it paved the way for Ekoji of Tanjore to dispose off Bangalore to the highest bidder.

Ekoji's conquest of Tanjore was a marvel in the history of south India. He permanently established at Tanjore and

inaugurated his rule in an happy moment. The subjects of the capital wel-comed his rule as divine dispensation and to a great extent they grew rich and powerful also. This state of calm and congenial atmosphere did not last long. As the dictum, "as wealth accumulates men decay", With the accumulation of wealth and power, Ekoji became haughty and cruel. He inaugurated a tyrannical rule which brought about revolting a situation that he was forced to resort to violence and cruelties in his territories; and this created jealousy and hatred in his subjects. Apart from these disturbances within, there were troubles and tribulations without. Taking advantage of the hopeless rule arising out of Ekoji's tyrannical rule at Tanjore, Chikkadevaraja, the vanquisher of the same Maratha king in 1682, started on his career of conquest and reduced to subjection territories like Chikkanayakanahalli, Kandikere, and Thyamagondlu which were tributaries of Bangalore, a centre of Maratha activities over which the authority of Ekoji could distinctly be seen. Having seen a dangerous neighbour in Chikkadevaraja, Ekoji had decided to sell away Bangalore to the highest bidder. Accordingly a Vakil was sent to the court of Mysore to negotiate. While negotiation was in progress, a Moghal detachment under the able generalship of Khasim Khan arrived in and surrounded Bangalore finally hoisting the Imperial flag on its ramparts on July 10th 1687. At this critical juncture Chikkadevaraja remained neutral. The Maratha army under Harji Mahadik and Keshav Pingle pounced on the Moghals at Bangalore but in vain. By that time Khasim Khan was the undisputed master of Bangalore. Frustrated in their ambitions, the Marathas

retreated the way by which they entered the city. Khasim Khan who was authorised to move further on his political programme found it wise to sell away the city to Chikkadevaraja. Chikkadevaraja opened negotiations and purchased Bangalore from the Moghal general by paying a stipulated amount of 3 lakhs of rupees. Therefore it is clear that Chikkadevaraja purchased Bangalore definitely from the hands of the Moghals but not from the Marathas as has been maintained so far.

The loss of Bangalore, the emergence of Mysore as a foremost political power, the acquisitions of Maratha possessions round about Bangalore by Chikkadevaraja, the revolt of his subjects at Tanjore - all these hastened the death of Ekoji (1687). Viewed from the angle of his relations with the Rajas of Mysore, it may undoubtedly be said that he remained throughout his life a terrible foe to the latter; and his several attempts at the reduction of Mysore came to an inglorious end. So the traditional hostility continued.

The hostile attitude of Chikkadevaraja towards the Marathas had never escaped the attention of Harji Mahadik of Gingi. The transaction of business that Chikkadevaraja conducted in respect of Bangalore was highly inflamatory and in fact roused the indignation of Harji Mahadik, who, losing no time, despatched Keshav Pant and Santaji with instructions to devastate the kingdom, Mysore. Accordingly the Maratha leaders entered Mysore causing all sorts of damage on their way but were completely

defeated by the Mysoreans and lost their way. It is indeed a great mistake to believe that Bangalore was brought under the direct control of the Rajas of Mysore merely because that it was purchased by them. On the contrary, though there was semblance of authority of the Rajas of Mysore, yet for all practical purposes it was ruled by a Moghal governor appointed by Khasim Khan who was posted by Aurangzeb as the Foujdar of Karnataka with Sira as his capital.

In those days of difficult communication, it is not strange if the governors of distant provinces to assume certain amount of freedom in their administration, and often declaring independence. The disloyal conduct of the Moghal governor at Bangalore led to his overthrow by Prince Azam who was despatched by Aurangzeb with instructions to effect the conquest of south-western corner of Bijapur kingdom. Thus with the increasing pressure of the Moghals, the Maratha possessions in Mysore were transforming into Moghal base. Bangalore became a point of Moghal communication; so also Doddaballapura. Thus the Maratha control over these territories began to decline. Sambhaji could not turn his attention towards these losses because he was engaged in a death-struggle with Aurangzeb.

On the other hand Aurangzeb swore that he would never return to Delhi until he had seen the head of Sambhaji weltering at his feet. To that end he had already appointed a spy named Kavi Kalasa who by enlisting the love and confidence of Sambhaji had been slowly but steadily working to bring about the ruin of the prince. While Sambhaji was in Sangameswara, Shaik

Nizam the Moghal general went and captured him. A little later he was tortured to death (March 11, 1689).

On the whole viewed in the larger interest of the need for friendly inter-state relations, the policy of hostility was neither honourable nor beneficial to either of the two Hindu States, Maratha and Mysore.

Under Rajaram, the unfortunate prince of the declining Maratha kingdom, the under-current of discord, distrust, jealousy and conflict continued between the two powers. When he was hard pressed by the Moghals, he left Panhala in haste and passed through Bednur, Bangalore, Channapatna and Mysore. Channammaji, ruler of Bednur offered shelter to the refugee king and sent him as far as the geographical limit of Mysore. Rajaram with his followers subdued Channapatna and by posting two Maratha officers named Ekoji and Shivaji for its governance, descended to the south. He passed through Mysore unnoticed by its guards and reached Gingi.

Although Rajaram did not come into armed conflict with Chikkadevaraja of Mysore, yet his generals such as Santaji and others had revived and renewed the traditional policy of hostility between the two houses by bursting on the kingdom of Mysore and causing incalculable havoc. In 1696 the last Mysore-Maratha battle was fought in which the Marathas under Santaji were completely defeated and driven out. The flight of Rajaram from Gingi to Maharashtra had practically brought to

close the unhappy relationship between the two great powers, Mysore and Marathas for the 17th century.

Now if we are to listen to the teachings of the History of Mysore-Maratha relations under survey, it is absolutely essential for the warring states to refrain from coercion. Present is always deep rooted in the past and the latter is giving directive to the present as to how a particular country should act towards its neighbour and if the directive is followed both in its spirit and letter, the future would be bright and promi-sing.

The History of the 17th century under survey was a tragedy and a warning - a warning to put a stop to the outbreak of untold miseries and limitless disadvantages that may arise from conflicting interests of two states. No good can be predicted from such a state which involves always in constant wars with its neighbour on some point or the other. Each state must work in terms of India. India's stability is much depending upon the States that go to make India. Therefore the relationship between states should be guided through love and mutual trust and not through suspicion. It should always be clear-minded and clean-hearted . It is not possible to believe we can achieve permanent peace so long as the states stand on one side or the other of their borders armed to the teeth for aggressive designs on a few border villages. Unless states of India adopt the policy of live and let live by showing mutual respect to each other's territories, peace of India cannot be

ensured.

It is possible to establish golden rule in India if all the states follow sincerely the Five Principles or Pancha Sheela advocated by Pandit Nehru. Pancha Sheela aims at promoting peace not only at inter-state level but at international level as well. It calls upon individual state to refrain from war and to adopt five principles as the basis of their inter-state relations:

<u>The Five Principles are:</u>

1) Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity,

2) Mutual non-aggression,

3) Mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs,

4) Equality and mutual benefit,

5) Peaceful co-existence.

At a time when the mankind is facing the fear of an atomic war, co-existence is the only hope. Co-existence is the only alternative to co-destruction. We have to choose between non-existence and co-existence. That is the truth; that is the dilemma; that is the issue that is laid before all of us.

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Appendix I.

Different Versions Regarding Raja Wodeyar's acquisition of Srirangapatna.

The common notion is that Tirumalarajaiya, the Vijayanagara Viceroy of Srirangapatna was afflicted with Rajpora (Carbuncle) that he summoned Raja Wodeyar of Mysore and asked him to hold the charge of Srirangapatna on his behalf informing that he (Tirumala) would go to Talkad, Tirumakudlu and other holy places on pilgrimage to get his wound cured, and that in the event of his death in the middle, Raja Wodeyar was to hand over the charge of Srirangapatna to the chief of Ummattur. Informing thus, the viceroy went on pilgrimage, but unfortunately he died at Talkad. Raja Wodeyar entered the city and took over into his hand the charge of the administration on February 8, 1610 A.D.[1]

The Annals of the Mysore Royal family gives a slightly different version. Tirumalarajaiya (by mistake he is called Sri Rangaraya) being afflicted with a fatal cancer said to his councillors as follows:

"Raja Wodeyar, our friend, who is the most powerful

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1. Mys. Dho. Vam. P.2; Mys.Ng.Pur., pp.28-29; Bettada Kote Kaifiyat., P.86.

ruler has stood us in good stead on one or two occasions. He is born in the Yadu race. Therefore he is the best-fitted personality to occupy the throne and rule the country. Since he has defeated some palegars and extended his territories, he will naturally take Srirangapatna in case some one is appointed". Then the viceroy invited Raja Wodeyar, narrated the story of the acquisition of Srirangapatna and the throne by his ancesstors, bestowed upon him both the kingdom and the throne and accompanied by his two wives (Alamelamma and Rangamma) proceeded to Malangi, near Talkad where he breathed his last some time later.[1]

These versions refer to the acquisition of Srirangapatna by Raja Wodeyar as an act of "conditional transfer and " gift" "or" bequest" respectively. Consequent upon the Carbuncle, Tirumala wished to hand over the charge of his viceroyalty to Raja Wodeyar who was then powerful. Therefore the move for the transference of the viceroyalty was from Tirumala himself. But the contemporary sources make no mention of this transaction between the viceroy and the Wodeyar of Mysore. Epigraphic records[2] show that the viceroy was alive till 1626, that is

1. Annals, I. pp.23-24, 29-30, 45.
2. E.C., III (1) Nj.181; also Mys. Gazo, II. iii. 2203-2208.

sixteen years after he left Srirangapatna. It is probable that the story of Royal Boil may be applicable to Sri Ranga II of Vijayanagara (1574-1586) who is supposed to have spent his last years in Srirangapatna.

Wilks[1] and the successive writers[2] reject this "tale of singular bequest of confidence and friendship" as contrary to all possibilities. Wilks writes: "The acquisition of Seringapatam, in 1610, ... is related in different manuscripts, with a diversity of statement, which seems only to prove a mysterious intricacy of intrigue beyond the reach of contemporaries to unravel.

The intrigue was probably the one referred to in the manuscript of Nagara Puttaiah, which according to the same author Wilks, "even details the names of the persons, probably of his own court, who had combined (as it is stated, with the permission of Venkatapetti Rayil who then reigned at Chandergherri) to compel him to retire. All that can be determined with certainty is the quiet retirement of Tremal Raj to Talcaud, where he soon afterwards died; and the peaceable occupation by Raja Wodeyar of the fort of Seringapatam". "Quiet retirement" was thought of by the viceroy only on the Royal Nirupa of his uncle-Emperor, Venkata I as is clear from Puttaiah's manuscript and other sources. The mysterious intricacy of intrigue will be cleared if one concentrates on Srirangapattanada charitre. Devachandra in his work

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1. History of Mysore, Vol.I, pp.49-52.
2. The latest among these is Prof.H.Heras in the Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara, Vol.I, P.420.

gives an account of Raja Wodeyar's acquisition of Srirangapatna from the hands of Tirumala drawing freely upon Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali. He writes:

> "Raja Wodeyar was established in the kingdom of Mysore by Jain adherents. With their help he received Srirangapatna from Sri Ranga Raya in 1585-1586. The latter was suffering from a fatal cancer. Sri Ranga Raya went to Talkad where he died. Thereupon Raja Wodeyar I began to rule the viceroyalty".

Then Ramarajaiya and his son Tirumala from Vijayanagara occupied Srirangapatna. In 1609-1610 Raja Wodeyar II conquered Srirangapatna from Tirumala and continued to rule from there.[1]

This story gives no reliable account of the acquisition of Srirangapatna. The only element of probability is the death of Sri Ranga II (1574-1586) by carbuncle.

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1. Rajavali Kathe, X. 285-295, 313-318, 371, XII. 449-450, 464-465, etc.).

APPENDIX II

On the actual successor of Kanthirava Narasaraja of Mysore: Some of the following literary and epigraphical sources make a great diversion from the opinion that Doddadevaraja Wodeyar ascended the throne of Mysore soon after the death of Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar. Divyasuri Charite written by Chikkupadhyaya one of the ministers of Chikkadevaraja states that to Devaraja were born four sons, namely Doddadevaraja, Chikkadeva, Devaraja and Mari Deva. Of these the eldest, Doddadeva had two sons named Chikkadeva and Kanthirava. His (Doddadeva's), brother Devaraja ruled the kingdom peacefully and ably.

Chikkaupadhyaya[2] further says in another work that after the rule of Kanthiravanarasaraja emerges the line of Devamahipati. To Devaraja were born four sons namely Doddadeva, Chikkadeva, Deva Kshitipala and Mari Deva. Among the sons, the eldest one lived in peace and his brother Devaraja Wodeyar ruled the kingdom well.

Chidanandakavi[3] in his work says that after the glorious rule of Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar, Devaraja Wodeyar, brother of Doddadevaraja Wodeyar was crowned with due pomp.

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1. Chikkaupadhyaya: Divyasuri Charite, P.13, Vs.76, 77, 78.
2. Kamalachala Mahatmya, K.B.38., Oriental Research Institute, Mysore P.17.
3. Munivamsabhyudaya.

Venugopala Varaprasada[1] makes reference to the rule of Devaraja Wodeyar. He says that Devaraja Wodeyar inaugurated his glorious rule and was on the throne for fourteen years dedicating his life to the service of his eldest brother Doddadevaraja Wodeyar. Doddadeva, Chikkadeva, Devaraja and Maridevendra were made the sons of Devaraja. Kanthiravendra and his eldest brother Chikkadeva Nripala were the sons of Doddadevaraja whose wife was Amritamba. Kanthirava Narasaraja was succeeded by the third son of Devaraja Wodeyar whose name is also Devaraja.

Thimma Kavi[2] in his noble work refers to the birth of four sons to Devaraja Wodeyar (Muppina Deva) namely, Doddadeva Rajendra, Chikkadevaraja, Devaraja and Marideva. Doddadevaraja had by his wife Amritamba two sons named Chikkadevaraja and Kanthirava. Devaraja, the third brother of Doddadeva ruled the kingdom piously.

Only a few epigraphic records say that the successor of Kanthiravanarasaraja was Devaraja Wodeyar, the third son of Muppina Devaraja, half-brother of Raja Wodeyar.

Two records[3] of 1663 mention that four sons of the same name Devaraja were born to Muppina Devaraja and his third son ascended the throne of Mysore as king Devaraja.

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1. Chikkadevaraja Vamsavali (This is quite different from another work of the same name written by Tirumalarya, Chief Minister of Chikkadevaraja of Mysore).
2. Paschimaranga Mahatmya, Introduction.
3. E.C., XII. Kg. 37 and 38.

The Bherya Copper plate[1] makes mention of Devaiya born to Muppina Devaraja by his queen Kempamamba and therefore he was called Kempa Devaiya.[2]

The local authority on which Wilks based the history of Mysore was Nagara Puttaiya Pandit's 'Mysore Dhoregala Purvabhyudaya Vivara' which was not a full history in itself. Yet we find in him a real attempt being made in the presentation of true historical narrative in respect of history of Mysore. He says:[3] "Muppina Deo Raj, the eldest son of Bole Chama Raj left four sons, of whom, it is known with certainty that the eldest and youngest and probably the second and the third also, were at this time alive. The eldest son Dud Devaia was an old man and had a son Chick Deo Raj aged 32. The younger or fourth brother of Dud Devaia was also no more than 32, the same age as his nephew. This is the person who was selected". According to him the last brother Devaraja who was also known as Kempa Devaiya after his accession, came to the throne of calling himself Dodda Deva Raja.

One of the Kannada Manuscripts[4] says that after the death of Kanthiravanarasaraja Wodeyar, Doddadevaraja Wodeyar son of Devapparaja Wodeyar by his youngest wife and that Devapparaja Wodeyar was the son of Bola Chamarasa Wodeyar by his youngest

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1. E.C.IV (ii) YD.54.
2. Tirumalarya's works; Wilks who has confused the conflicting authorities makes Kempa Devaiya, the fourth son of Muppina Devaraja and further says that he has been called Kempa Deva because of his redness and fairness (I. P.36). Revision is needed in the light of the inscription.
3. History of Mysore Vol.I, pp.35-36. He says that the name of Dud Deo Raj, previously to his accession was Kempa Devaiah.
4. Mysore Dhoregala Purvavamsabhyudaya Vivara, K.A. 273. Oriental Research Institute, Mysore, P.19. The author of this is one, Venkataramanaya son of Venkatesiah of Srirangapatna. He seems to have given a correct geneology of the Mysore Royal House

wife was crowned the king of Srirangapatna.

Another kannada historical manuscript[1] details that the death of Kanthiravanarasaraja Wodeyar in 1659 made Doddadevaraja son of Devaraja (Muppina) succeed to the throne of Srirangapatna in August 1659. One peculiar thing we notice in this manuscript is that Chikkadevaraja who was crowned in 1673 was made the brother of Doddadevaraja but not his son.

Another kannada historical manuscript[2] says that Kanthirava Narasaraja died on 25th July 1659 and Doddadevaraja son of Devapparaja Wodeyar (Muppina Deva Raja) was crowned on 3rd August, 1659.

Tirumalarya, the celebrated Prime Minister of Chikkadevaraja, in one of his works[3] says that of the four sons born to Devaraja (Muppina Devaraja), the eldest Doddadevaraja ascended the throne and exercised his rule over his subjects peacefully and calmly. Ruling the kingdom for some time, he handed over the charge of royal responsibilities to Devaraja Wodeyar, his brother who, according to him decent in manners, loveable, wise, subjects-loving, made another brother Mariyadevarajarasa stand by the side of the former; made his son Chikkadevaraja, the crown-prince by whose side stood Kanthiravayya, brother of Chikkadevaraja. After

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1. Mysore Samsthanada Dhoregala Parampare Kaifiyat (folio 12); see also Mys.Ar.Rep. 1936, P.57.
2. Mysore Rajara Charitre by Venkataramanayya.
3. C.Vamsavali, pp. 168, 169, 170.

the distribution of political powers among his brothers and sons, and with due admonition to the king as to how he should discharge his kingly duties, went on a pilgrimage to the banks of Kaundini near Gundlupet where he died sometime after meditation. Devaraja ruled the kingdom like Dharmaraya and other ancient Rajas."

Another monumental work[1] by the same author clearly explains how Doddadevaraja Wodeyar, following the advice of his friend Alasingaraya, had crowned his brother Kempa Devaiah the king, authorising another brother Mari Devaiah to stand as his guard; his son Chikkadevaraja, the Yuvaraja authorising his last son Kanthirava to stand as his guard, besides making due arrangements for crowning Chikkadevaraja as the king after the rule of Kempa Devaiah was over. After advising the crowned prince, Devaraja, Doddadevaraja went out of the capital on a pilgrimage along with his second brother Chikkadevaraja.

The Annals of the Mysore Royal Family[2] gives some what slightly a different version from that of the sources already narrated: "Feeling not well, Kanthirava Narasaraja summoned Dalavoy Karugahalli Hamparajaiya and other intimate followers revealed to them that he would not survive long; and consequent on his having no heirs to the throne he would adopt the third son,

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1. C.Vijayam.

2. This is also called Palace Historical Manuscript written by B.Ramakrishna Rao, P.93.

Devaraja Wodeyar of his uncle Muppina Devaraja Wodeyar then living at Gundlu. He ordered them all to crown him as the king and act in accordance to his orders. After bringing him from Gundlu with due royal honours to Srirangapatna he was adopted on 22nd July 1659.[1] Having done all this Kanthirava died shortly afterwards i.e. 25th July 1659.[2] One strange thing we notice in this work is that it completely forgets the real prince who was adopted by Kanthirava to be his successor, on the contrary it introduces one Doddadevaraja Wodeyar, the first son of Muppina Devaraja[3] and says that he was the successor of Kanthirava Narasa Raja.[4]

Doddadevaraja was the real successor of Kanthirava Narasaraja as is confirmed by the Mysore paintings at the Jagan mohan Palace.[5] Doddadevaraja Wodeyar is stated to have been the son of Ranadhira Kanthirava Narasa.[6] If the relationship is corrected, it clearly mentions that Kanthirava Narasaraja was succeeded by Doddadevaraja Wodeyar who was crowned on 27th Aug.1659.[7] He ruled for 13 years, 5 months and 6 days.[8]

Another kannada historical manuscript says that before the accession of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar, Devaraja Wodeyar brother

1. Saka 1582, Vikari, Sravana ba 5.
2. Saka 1582, Vikari, Sravana ba 8.
3. Muppina Devaraja was the "Bhinnodara Sahodara"(half-brother) of Raja Wodeyar - Annals I, P.95.
4. Annals, I, pp. 95-96.
5. M.A.R. 1938, P.46. The list of rulers connected with the Mysore Royal Family is given in the Jaganmohan Palace.
6. M.A.R., pp.53-54.
7. Ibid, P.54, Saka 1582, Vikari, Bhadrapada Su 10.
8. M.A.R. 1938, P.78 - Sachchudrachara Nirnaya written by Chikkadevaraja.

of Doddadevaraja Wodeyar was ruling. To make it clear, after the death of Kanthirava Narasa, Doddadevaraja Wodeyar came to the throne of Srirangapatna and having ruled for some time, he handed over the charge of the kingdom to his brother Devaraja Wodeyar following the principles of ancient Dharma and went on a pilgrimage. This manuscript seems to be in complete agreement with the two monumental works[1] of Tirumalarya, the Prime Minister of Chikkadevaraja.

Another contemporary kannada source[2] mentions that "Doddadevaraja of Mysore was a royal rishi. He was the most important king among kings to have such distinction. He made gifts and went on pilgrimage. He ruled from Srirangapatna, the capital city, seated on the jewelled throne and favoured by god Narayana." The quasi-historical poem 'Kanthirava Narasa Raja Vijayam'[3] by Govinda Vaidya gives how, when the heirs in the reigning family are absent, the ruling king looked to the junior branch of the main line for members to succession. Usually the junior branch of the main line was sticking on to Mysore whose members most often acted as Yuvarajas paying allegiance to the king of the main line at Srirangapatna. The best prospective candidate was chosen and adopted to govern the kingdom of Mysore. This system is clearly echoed in the poem of Govinda Vaidhya.

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1. C.Vam. and C.Vijayam.
2. Raja Charitre by Tirumalarya.
3. Select Extracts, III Chapter.

When there were no heirs to succeed to the throne of Srirangapatna in the line of Raja Wodeyar, the choice fell on Kanthirava Narasa son of Bettada Chamarasa soon after the death of Immadi Raja Wodeyar. Thus Muppina Devaraja Wodeyar's line (half-brother of Raja Wodeyar) came to be adopted.

It is unfair to make distinction between the main line at Srirangapatna and the subordinate line at Mysore, for all of them belonged to one family although some of the members of the family were sent to govern Mysore. Further more is often the Rajas were called Mysore Rajas even though the Rajas ruled from Srirangapatna.[1] Therefore no distinction is to be made as has been done so far by some scholars.

In the Santanambuja (drawn up in 1860) Kanthirava Narasa is said to have lived for 50 years 9 months and 21 days from Saka 1561, Bahudhanya Karthika Suddha 2 (28-10-1638) and he was succeeded by Doddadevaraja in S' 1582, Vikari Bhadrapada Suddha 10 (17-8-1659) and ruled for 13 years 5 months and 6 days. He was succeeded by Chikkadevaraja on Phalguna Bahula 12, paridhavi S' 1595 (15-5-1673 A.D.). There is no mention of Doddadeva's younger brother Deva Raja.[2]

There are number of epigraphic records to prove that

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1. E.C. IV (ii) Hg.57. All the inscriptions of Doddadevaraja Wodeyar refer him as the king of Mysore seated on the jewelled throne of Srirangapatna.
2. Dr.S.Srikanta Sastri on 'Two grants of Kanthirava Raja of Mysore' in the Q.J.M.S., 1956, P.198.

Dodda Deva succeeded Kanthirava Narasa. An inscription of Chikkadevaraja dated 1680 says that after Kanthiravanarasa Raja came "Doddadeva Raja who sat on the jewel throne of Sriranga Raya".[1]

To sum up: all the aforesaid literary and epigraphic records definitely point to the conclusion that the actual successor of Kanthirava was no other than Doddadevaraja Wodeyar.

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1. M.A.R. 1918, P.58. For various inscriptions regarding the actual successor of Kanthirava Narasaraja, see Dr.S.Srikanta Sastri (Q.J.M.S., 1956, P.198).

APPENDIX III

The following is the genealogy of the Mysore Rajas as is depicted in Srirangapatna inscription 14, dated A.D. 1686 and continued in Sr.64 dated A.D. 1722. It corresponds with that in Sr. 151 dated A.D. 1679 and Sr. 100 dated A.D. 1724.

- Bettada Chamaraja
  - Timma Raja
  - Krishna Raja
  - Chamaraja
    - Rajadhi Raja
    - Bettada Chama Raja
    - Deva Rajendra
      - Dodda Devaraja M. Amritamba
        - Chikkadevandra M. Devamamba
          - Kanthirava Narasa Raja
        - Kanthirava
      - Chikka Deva Raja
      - Deva Raja
      - Mariya Deva
    - Chama Raja

Wilks' genealogical Table.

- Vijaya (Hadana and Karugahalli)
  - Chama Raja (Arberal = six-fingured)
    - Betad Chamaraja
      - Appan Timmaraj Hemanahalli
        - Betad Wodeyar 1576 to 1578
        - Raja Wodeyar 1578 to 1617
      - Krishna Kembala
      - Bole Chamaraj (Mysore)
        - Muppin Devaraj
          - Dodda Devaiah
            - Chikkadeva Raj (1672 - 1704)
          - 2nd
          - 3rd
          - Kempa Devaiah (1659 to 1672)
            - Dod Devayya
        - Here Chamaraja

Chikkadeva Raj
(1672 - 1704)
↓
Kanthiravaraj (1704 to 1714)
↓
Dod Krishna Raj (1714 to 1731)
↓
Two usurpers Chamaraj (1731 to 1734)
↓
Chikka Krishna Raj (1734 to 1766)

Dalavoy Grant No.63, Tirumakudlu Narasipur dated A.D.1759 gives the following which agrees more closely with that in Wilks' History of Mysore.

Chamaraja
- Timmaraja
- Krishnaraja
- Betad Chamaraja
  - Raja Wodeyar
    - Narasaraj
      - Chamaraja
        - Immadi Raja
          - Kanthirava Narasa
            - Devarajendra
              - Chikka Devaraja
                - Kanthirava Narasa
                  - Krishna Raja Nripati
                    - Krishna Raja

Palace History

Yadu Raja (1399 to 1423)

Here Bettada Chamaraja Wodeyar (1423 to 1458) — Chamaraja Wodeyar

Timmaraja Wodeyar (1458 to 1478)

Here Chama Raja Wodeyar (1478 to 1513)

Betad Chamaraja (1513 to 1552)

Timmaraja (1552 to 1571) — Krishna Raja — Bole Chamaraja (1571 to 1576)

Bole Chamaraja (1571 to 1576): Betad Chamaraja (1576 to 1578) — Raja Wodeyar (1578 to 1617) — Muppina Devaraj — Chamaraj

Betad Chamaraja (1576 to 1578): Raja Wodeyar — Kanthirava Narasa (1638 -1659)

Muppina Devaraj: 1st — 2nd — Doddadevaraja (1659 to 1672)

Raja Wodeyar (1578 to 1617): Narasa-raja — Bettada Wode-yar — Nanja-raja — Chama Raja — Immadi Raja 1637 to 1638

Doddadevaraja (1659 to 1672): Chikkadevaraja (1672 to 1704) — Kanthirava Narasa

Kanthirava Narasa(1704 to 1713)

Dod Krishna Raja (1713 to 1731)

Chamaraja(1731 to 1734)

Chikkakrishna Raj(1734 to 1761)

Both of these adopted by the widow of Dod Krishna Raj.

The Genealogical table adopted in this work.

Yadu (1399 to 1423)

Here Betad Chamaraj (1423 to 1458) — Chamaraja

Timmaraja Wodeyar (1458 to 1478)

- Timmaraja Wodeyar (1458 to 1478)
  - Here Chamarasa (1478 to 1513)
    - Betad Chamaraja (1513 to 1552)
      - Timmaraja (1552 to 1571)
      - Krishna Raj
      - Bole Chamaraja (1571 to 1576)
        - Rajadhiraja (1578 to 1617)
          - Narasaraja
          - Betad Wodeyar
          - Nanjaraj
          - Chamaraj
          - Immadi Raja (1637 - 1638)
        - Betad Chamaraja
          - Raja Wodeyar (died young)
          - Kanthirava Narasa (1638 to 1659)
        - Muppina Devaraja
          - Dod Devaraja (1659-1673)
            - Chikkadevaraj (1673 to 1704)
              - Kanthirava Narasa (1704 to 1713)
                - Dod Krishna Raj (1713 to 1731)
                  - Chamaraja (1731 to 1734)
                  - Chikka Krishnaraja (1734 to 1761).
            - Kanthirava Narasa
          - Chikkadevendra
          - Kempa Devayya (Jan 21, 1673 to May 15, 1673)
          - Mari Deva

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APPENDIX IV

"No Man's Land" - refuted.

Referring to the conquests of Shivaji during his return journey from Gingee to Maharashtra, J.N.Sarkar says that Shivaji attacked and took easy possession of his father's jagir districts - Kolar, Hoskote, Bangalore, Doddaballapura and Sira in the eastern and central parts of the Mysore kingdom and put down the chieftains of that "No Man's Land".[1]

It is incorrect to say that those districts were "No Man's Land", for we have got sufficient evidences on hand to prove that those districts were controlled and ably administered by enterprising, war-like chieftains. For instance Kolar was committed to the charge of the Avatinad Prabhus and Sugatur Chieftains. Immadi Bairegowda, the son of Bairegowda, the Prabhu of Avatinad in 1640 was the contemporary of Shahji. Another contemporary chieftain of Shahji was Immade Chikkaraya Tammaya Gowdarayya of Sugatur in 1637.[2]

That several Maratha officials were placed over Kolar to carry on the administration can evidently be proved. A stone inscription of 1637 gives the name of the Maratha official as Srimantha Desa Kulakarni Samanna.[3]

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1. J.N.Sarkar: Shivaji and His Times, P.308(1929 edition), Grant Duff: History of the Mahrattas, Vol.I, P.281.
2. Epigraphia Carnatica, X, Sd.31, P.183; Kl.247, P.69.
3. Ibid., Sd.49, P.185.

In 1653 Rajadhiraja Rajaraja Sambhaji Raja Maharaja's son Kannarayaji Pandita is said to have been made a gift of land to some one whose name is effaced in the record.[1] Styling himself as the agent (Karyakartha) of the Emperor Sambhaji.

Kannarayji Pandita seemed to have governed the whole Kolar region ably and efficiently. There appears to have been a change in the official status of Prince Sambhaji. This can be seen in another inscription which says that Sambhajiraja is honoured with full royal titles such as Rajadhiraja Rajamanya Rajasri Sambhoji Raja Maharajarayya.[2]

It is known that Sambhaji[3] was the eldest son of Shahji who played a significant part in the politics of South Indian History from 1639 to 1664. After the death of Sambhaji in 1654 at Kanaka-giri, another Maratha by the same name succeeded to the Viceroyalty. He was the brother-in-law of Shahji as his sister was married to the latter.[4]

A stone inscription of 1660 makes mention of Sambhaji who granted a land to Antraji Pandita of Akaladarasa in Sugatur Hobli.[5]

In 1662 Kolar sime was committed to the charge of Ekoji. This is proved by a stone inscription correctly dated 1662 by Rice,

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1. Ibid., Mb. 154, P.111.
2. E.C., X, Kl., 193, P.60.
3. See Chapter VI.
4. Ibid.
5. E.C., X, Kl. 176, P.57.

which says that during the rule of Enkoji (Ekoji) Raja, the havaldar of Rahadurga, Baranaji Raja made a gift of land to Timmappa.[1]

Ekoji did not seem to have governed Kolar sime for a long time, for Sambhaji comes to assume the governorship of that district in the next year 1663. The stone inscription which throws fresh light on this, clearly says that Rajadhiraja Rajasri Sambhaji Raja Saheb made a gift of land to Alambigiri Tippi Setty & Varanasi Chennegauda.[2] This Sambhaji died in 1663.[3]

After the death of Sambhaji the administration of the district was devolved upon his wife, Jayita Bayiamma. A stone inscrption says that in 1666 Jayita Bayiamma, lawful wife of Sambhaji Raja made a gift of land to some one (named).[4] That she continued to rule over the district up to 1670 can be proved by an inscription of 1670 which refers to the gift of a land to some one (named) made by Jayita Bai, the wife of Sambhaji.[5]

But in 1673 the governorship of that district was placed under a Maratha official named Krishnappa. This can be clearly proved by an inscription dated 1673 which says that Maharajasri Desapande Krishnappa made a gift of land to one Nagarajappa.[6]

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1. E.C. X., Sd47, P.185.
2. Ibid, Kl. 219, P.63.
3. See Chapter VI.
4. Ibid, Kl.227, P.65. This inscription says that Sambhaji was the son of Sivaji Raja. Probably this is an error for Shahji.
5. E.C., X, Kl.224, P.64.
6. Ibid. Mb.129, P.109.

Krishnappa seems to have ruled district for about 5 years, for in 1680 Sambhaji, the son of Shivaji comes to assume the governorship of the district. The inscription of 1680 mentions Sambhaji ordering one of his officials for grant of land to some one[1] (named). According to the above inscriptions, therefore, Kolar was continued to be governed by different Maratha officers since the establishment of the Maratha rule in Mysore.

Let us now turn to Tumkur. Within the jurisdiction of the district of Tumkur was Sira which formed a part of Jagir that was bestowed on Shahji, father of the Great Shivaji by Adil Shah of Bijapur in 1639 in recognition for his selfless service in the Carnatic.[2]

A Persian inscription on the tomb of Malik Rihan dated 1651 definitely says that Sira was committed to the charge of the Adil Shahi Subedar named Malik Rihan who dedicted his life for the betterment of his district. It says that he came over there 1637to increase the beauty of his country. What is more interesting in this is that he is called the lord of the riches and power - riches referring to the material prosperity that he increased and power referring to the efficient rule that he gave to his country.[3] Another Persian inscription copied at Sira refers to the construction a

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1. Ibid, Mb.117, P.106.
2. See Muhammad Namah translated in Modern Review 1929 by J.N.Sarkar.
3. E.C. XII, Sira 66 b, P.98.

mosque by Ali Nazr, a subordinate of Malik Rihan. It says:

> "This holy, grand, lofty and glorious mosque was built by Ali Nazr .... subordinate to Malik Raihan Mubarak".

This must have been constructed during the reign of Malik Rihan.[1] Another on a black slab kept in the courtyard of the big mosque gives A.D. 1657 as the date of the construction of another mosque.[2] The name of the Governor is not mentioned.

The capture of Bijapur by Aurangzeb in 1686 was followed by the conquest of the Karnataka districts dependent on it. Sira was made the capital of the new province south of the Tungabhadra. Khasim Khan was appointed the first governor. Khasim Khan governed Sira region with ability till 1698.[3]

Now it is clear that Shivaji during his Karnataka expedition had not conquered "No Man's Land" in the northern, central and eastern parts of the kingdom of Mysore, as has been held by - J.N.Sarkar; but conquered districts held by enterprising and able chieftains.

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1. Archaeological Report of Mysore 1915, P.57.
2. Ibid.
3. See Chapters on Sambhaji and Rajaram.

APPENDIX I.

Thevenot writes, "Aurangzeb hearing the news of the sack of Surat and wishing to do away with Shivaji, expressed himself thus to the Rajas of his court, amongst whom he knew Shivaji had many friends and told them that he highly esteemed Shivaji for his valour and wished he might come to court, saying openly that he would take it as a pleasure to honour a hero like Shivaji at his court. He commanded the Rajas to write to Shivaji and gave his royal word that he should receive no injury, he had now forgot what was past. Several Rajas wrote what the king had said and made themselves in a manner sureties for the performance of his word, so that Shivaji made no difficulty in coming to court and bringing his son with him.

"At first he met with all imaginable caresses, but some time after, Shivaji perceived a dryness in the king and boldly told him that he believed that he had a mind to put him to death, though he had come on his royal word to wait upon him without any constraint or necessity that obliged him to it; but that his Majesty might have known what man he was, from Shaista Khan and the Governor of Surat; that after all, if he perished, there were those who would revenge his death and that hoping they would do so, he was resolved to die with his own hands and drawing his dagger made an attempt to kill himself but was hindered and had guards set upon him.

"The king would have willingly put him to death, but he feared an insurrection of the Rajas. They already murmured at this usage notwithstanding the promise made to him and all of them were so

much the more concerned for him. This consideration obliged Aurangzeb to treat him well and to make much of his son. He told him that it was never in his thoughts to have him put to death & flattered him with the hopes of a good government if he would go with him to Kandahar which he then designed to besiege. The king granted him passports for his troops coming from the Deccan, when he got these passports he resolved to make use of them for himself withdrawing from the court, He gave the passports to his officers under pretence of calling his forces to provide him horses in certain places. When everything was ready Shivaji got himself and his son both carried privately in baskets (carried in pairs on bamboos) to the riverside. They crossed the river, mounted the horses that were ready and ran away telling the waterman (at the river)

> "go and acquaint the king that he had carried over Raja Shivaji". They rodeday and night finding always fresh horses in the appointed places.

Aurangzeb was extremely vexed at Shivaji's escape; many believed that his escape was a false report deliberately given out and that he was in reality put to death".[1]

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1. Foreign Biographies of Shivaji, by Surendra Nath Sen, pp.180-184.

APPENDIX V

The portuguese viceroy in a letter written on January 16th 1691 at Goa to the king of Portugal describes the condition of Bednur when it was surrounded by the Moghals:

"The Moghal king, after having captured Sambhaji, put him to death and proceeded with the conquests of his territories; but as his brother Rajaram escaped from the mountain of Panhala which the Moghal had besieged, he ordered that a division this army under his son prince Sultan Tara should chase. The prince surrounded the queen of Kanara who was reported to have allowed Rajaram to pass through her kingdom in such a way that the latter after taking several of her fortresses and entering her court at Bednur had compelled her to retreat and seek peace, surrendering three fortresses out of those which she had in the Ghats and belonged to king Adil Shah and offering to pay him in three years 18 lakhs of pagodas which are more than 18 millions. She immediately handed over to him six lakhs representing the first year's instalment. The Mughal Emperor, being appraised of this did not feel satisfied, for his intention was to conquer the kingdom of Kanara as he had conquered those of Bijapur and Golkonda".[1]

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1. I.H.R.C. Pr., Vol.XVII, 1940.

APPENDIX VI

On the date of the Maratha invasion of Mysore by Santaji, C.Hayavadana Rao (History of Mysore Vol.I, Appendix VI (1) pp.550-551) has offered his criticisms on the Maratha invasion of Mysore in 1696 saying that it was not in 1696 that srirangapatna was subjected to the Maratha devastation but only during 1680-82, refuting the factual evidence given by Wilks. His evidences are: 1) Seringapatam Temple Copperplate grant, dated November 19, 1686 which alludes to the Maratha invasion of Srirangapatna by Dadaji Jaitaji and Nimbaji; 2) The local chronicles which reveal that Kumaraiya was in office of Dalavayship up to May 26, 1682; 3) Letters of Fort St.George (1682) and Jesuits (1682) which say that Kumaraiya was in Trichinopoly with a major portion of the Mysore army at a time when Marathas invaded Srirangapatna(1682); 4) Sakala Vaidya - Samhita Sararnava (1714-1720) by Viraraja of Kalale and Andhra Vachana Bharatamu - Sabhaparvamu (1731).

These authorities are quoted to prove that Mysore was not invaded by the Marathas in 1696, when Kumaraiya was in Trichinopoly.

Wilks by making a comparative study of conflicting sources, had fallen in to error. He has not been able to find out that Mysore was subjected to the Maratha invasion more than once. The great mistake of Wilks lies in his efforts to prove that there was only one Maratha invasion. It is true that Mysore was invaded by the Maratha Generals like Dadaji, Jaitaji and Nimbalkar during 1680-1682

when the major portion of the Mysore army was away but it is incorrect to assert that Mysore was not invaded by the Marathas in 1696.

On the following evidences, I offer to say that Mysore was invaded by Maratha General Santaji being pursued by Zalfikar Khan in 1696: (1) Records of Fort St.George. Letters from Fort St.George for 1696, P.29, No.34 which says that Santaji is cautoning at Seerpe with his army to oppose the entrance of the Moghal army into the Carnatic; (2) Records of Fort St.George: Diary and Consultation Book of 1696, P.166 which says that Zalfikar Khan under the orders of the Emperor had pursued Santaji who was in Mysore; (3) Chikkadevaraja Binnapam pp.58-59 which specifically mentions the name of Santaji who was defeated by Chikkadeva Raja; (4) Sarkar: History of Aurangzeb Vol.V, P.104, on the basis of Persian sources says that Santaji entered the region of central Mysore being closely followed by Zalfikar Khan. If this analysis is understood clearly, the plight of Hayavadana Rao is solved safely.

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